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THE GANDHI ASSASSINATION: WORLD PRESS COVERAGE

*A Report Prepared under an Interagency Agreement
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December 1984

Compiler: Douglas C. Makeig

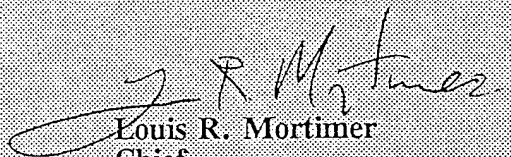
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PREFACE

This compilation provides South Asia analysts with easy access to press items and commentaries relating to the 31 October 1984 assassination of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Also included are articles dealing with the violent aftermath of the assassination and the challenges which the new government of Rajiv Gandhi will face.

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THE ASSASSINATION PLOT

THE ASSASSINATION WHO ? WHY ? HOW ?

BY TANIA MIDHA AND JAGMEET UPPAL

Forty seconds elapsed in deadly silence. Five shots had shattered the peace. Mrs Gandhi had been struck by the very first. She turned a circle of 300 degrees and dropped to the ground. Then two more bullets found their target.

Mrs Gandhi lay still on the ground, her saffron saree streaked in red. Nobody moved. For a full two thirds of a minute, her able, well-trained and undoubtedly alert security men were completely paralysed.

And then another deafening spurt of bullets sprayed the saffron with a string of red. The Prime Minister, who was on her way from her residence to her adjacent office fell 10 metres short of the TMC gates where the assassins had stood prepared. The time was 9.18 am on October 31, 1984.

Twice before the men had failed but a persistent third attempt had paid. The first chance had been missed on October 15 when standing in tense preparedness, they had watched Mrs Gandhi take the car from her residence to the adjacent office since she was in a hurry.

At the second attempt, on October 21, they had been defeated by the cordon around Mrs Gandhi. Although the mandatory "ringaround" was not there, there were too many people around her and they did not want to take any chances. They had returned their guns to their sides.

But this time, they knew they had got the victim. The first bullet had burst the artery joining the heart with the lungs, the immediate aftermath of which is the kind of circle that Mrs Gandhi took before falling to the ground. Senior police officials say that in their dacoit encounters, it was the "circle" that was the confirmation that they had "got their man."

As many as 16 of the 29 bullets unleashed had hit the target. While Beant got three of his five from his .38 revolver, Satwant managed to get 13 of the spurt of 24 fired from the sten. By all eyewitness accounts, Mrs Gandhi was dead even before she was lifted from the spot.

The three men at her side—Mr R.K. Dhawan, special assistant, Mr Narayan Singh, the head constable carrying her umbrella, and Nathu Ram, her

personal bodyguard—were by then studies in frantic activity.

Subinspector Rameshwar Dayal, who was walking a few paces behind, was also hit in the thigh by two bullets on the rebound. Scarcely realising his own injury he also ran towards the Prime Minister.

Mrs Gandhi's personal security officer, Mr Dinesh Bhatt, the ACP of the special security district, who was already at the office at 1, Akbar Road also found himself wildly retracing his steps to be among the first to reach there.

Leaving the mandatory Rs three-lakh ambulance with all its medical attachments standing in the corner, Mrs Gandhi was lifted into a waiting Ambassador by Mr Dhawan with the help of Mr Dinesh Bhatt and Dr R. Opeh, her doctor on duty, and Mrs Sonia Gandhi, and rushed to the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS).

The injured Mr Dayal, and Mr M.L. Fotedar, her other special assistant, also chased the car in another Ambassador.

Mrs Gandhi's personal physician for the last two decades, Dr K.P. Mathur, had conducted a check up earlier in the morning and had returned to his hospital by then. He was not present on the spot.

As the car sped down the 4.5 km stretch between 1, Safdarjung Road and the Medical Institute, chaos ruled behind them. Peter Ustinov, the Hollywood star who was to conduct an interview with the Prime Minister for Shamus, Irish Television, only two minutes after the fatal moment, had rushed out to see what "the fireworks were all about." The Doordarshan make-up woman, who had just commented that the Prime Minister looked like a devi in her saffron robes, also came out screaming hysterically.

The security guards were racing each other to reach the spot where the two assassins had by then surrendered. They threw down their arms (they had already exhausted their ammunition) and gave themselves up to commandos of the Indo-Tibetan Border Police who had surrounded them.

Their hands locked behind their backs, they were marched to the guard room 50 metres away by Inspector I.S. Jamwal and Constable Ram Saran. Now that the men were "safe" inside the guard room, everybody busied themselves frantically trying to do "something."

Once again the silence was shattered with an equally loud burst of bullets. Inside the guard room both Beant Singh and Satwant Singh lay slumped on the ground. A total of 19 empty shells were later counted inside the room. Both men were taken for dead.

But for the first time that morning, the emergency routine was carried out and both Beant and Satwant were rushed to Ram Manohar Lohia Hospital within minutes. Ironically, this time, the ambulance was used. At the hospital, while Beant was declared dead immediately, the doctors went into an emergency operation to battle for Satwant's life—the only key to the murder. Satwant had received seven bullets in his upper arm, thigh and lower abdomen and his kidney had suffered major damage.

The DCP (special security district), Mr Gopi Ram Gupta, was on his way from his residence at 16, Talkatora Road when the incident occurred. He was informed over the wireless in his car and reached the spot within three minutes of the episode. Mr Hari Pillai, ACP (security) arrived soon after. All they could do was to take Jamwal and Ramsaran into custody. The two were detailed for further interrogation to check out any links with the overall assassination plot.

No details of the interrogation have leaked through but the story that has gained currency is that Beant and Satwant had begun to grapple with the guards inside the room and when Satwant tried to snatch the rifle of an ITBP commando the two men sprayed them with bullets.

Meanwhile, at the Tughlak Road police station, head constable Narayan Singh was narrating a minute-to-minute account of the morning's incident. The FIR (No. 241) was lodged under section 307, 120(B) and the Arms Act: in other words, "attempt to murder" with "conspiracy" and "violation of the Arms Act." The time was still 11.25 am and the FIR still read attempted murder. Mrs Gandhi was still clinically alive. At 2.30 pm, however, it was amended from Section 307 to 302. "Murder of the Prime Minister" it read. Mrs Indira Gandhi had been declared dead at 2.20 pm.

At the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences, while the police cordoned off the area for the general public the gates were thronged by a brigade of news-hungry journalists.

Thousands of people lined the roads, waiting for some indication of how Mrs Gandhi fared. The only answer forthcoming from the dozens of VVIPs going into the institute and coming out in quick succession was, "The operation is still going on. There is no further news."

Mrs Gandhi had been rushed into the operation theatre on the eighth floor of the emergency ward immediately

upon her arrival. The three stunned junior doctors who received the Prime Minister soon shook themselves out of the stupor and while one of them called in the senior doctors, Dinesh Bhatt helped the others carry Mrs Gandhi to the operation theatre in the lift without waiting for the stretcher.

One by one all the senior-most doctors of the institute hurried into the theatre. The first to arrive was Dr J.S. Guleria, the head of the department of medicine. Following on his heels were Dr P. Venu-gopal, cardio-thoracic surgeon, Dr G.R. Gode, head of anaesthesiology, Prof M.M. Kapoor and Dr I.K. Dhawan. Dr K.P. Mathur came in a little later.

Mrs Gandhi was put on the heart lung bypass machine and with the machine mechanically pumping blood for her while also operating the respiratory system, the doctors administered bottle after bottle of blood. After the institute stock of the Prime Minister's blood group, O minus, ran out, blood was brought in from the Red Cross.

But it was all futile. In fact around 2 pm when the news that Mrs Gandhi was no more began to take root among the public Youth Congress workers sparked off a near stampede in the hospital compound calling for "donors" of the blood group, O minus. They stood on a raised platform and began taking down a list of names of people willing to give their blood to save the Prime Minister—and all the while Mrs Gandhi was dead.

In all the chaos that prevailed, Subinspector Rameshwar Dayal lay neglected in the hospital till he was noticed by one of the doctors who made arrangements for his surgery.

While intelligence officials were piecing together the "real" story at 1, Safdarjung Road which was humming with all the top officials of the Intelligence Bureau, RAW and Delhi Police by noon, reporters at the hospital pieced together a flimsy spot report with measly accounts dished out by VIPs and security men.

At the residence it was discovered that both the men had changed their duties to be together at the TMC gate. Both of them were well prepared. Beant Singh's revolver was already outside the holster. Satwant Singh had even arranged to have his post shifted from the outer cordon at gate no 4 to a booth near the TMC gate.

It is unclear whether he changed his duty only with the permission of the duty officer present then, or whether the inspector on duty and the assistant commissioner in charge had been informed. But going by the suspension of the ACP, Mr Duli Chand Gulia, and the fact that both the inspector and the duty officer have gone untouched so far, it is apparent that the final yes came from the ACP.

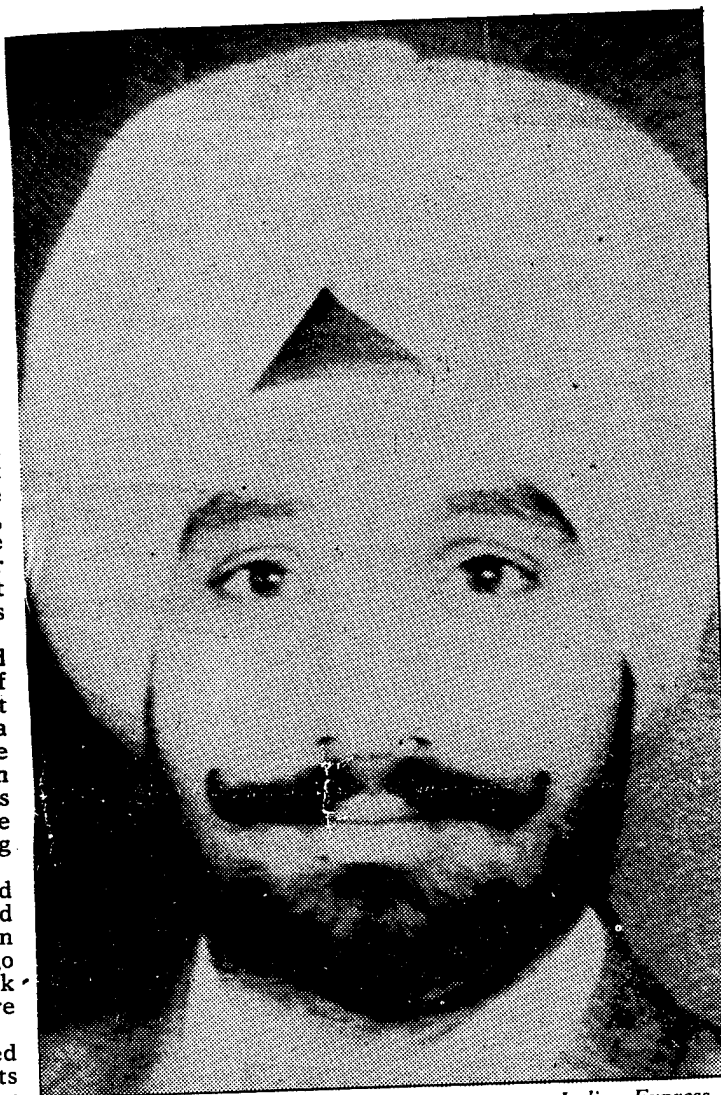
Satwant Singh had changed his position on the pretext of an upset stomach stating that he wanted to be close to a toilet. He got away with the flimsy excuse then, although today the very fact that he was kept on duty when he said he was incapacitated is being questioned.

Beant Singh was scheduled to be in the afternoon shift and had adjusted his duty to that in the morning and was due to go off duty at 10.00 am. His task was accomplished a little more than 40 minutes earlier.

Mrs Gandhi had cancelled all her other appointments that morning to be with her grandchildren who had met with an accident the day before. She had returned from the Orissa tour late in the evening before and was tired also. But she had kept her interview with Peter Ustinov, the Hollywood star who was to do a series on her for Irish television. Mr Dinesh Bhatt, Mrs Gandhi's personal security officer, was already with Ustinov at the office finalising the last minute arrangements when Mrs Gandhi stepped out of her house.

But the meeting with Rahul and Priyanka was not to be. They waited with their mother, Mrs Sonia Gandhi, outside the operation theatre only to hear that their grandmother was no more.

The country was rocked with riots the next day. Two Sikhs had killed Mrs Gandhi and in the blind fury that engulfed the people, all Sikhs were to be blamed.



The late subinspector Beant Singh. Picture courtesy Indian Express

And while the tension packed days saw nearly a thousand Sikhs butchered and their property gutted, there was a different kind of a tension among the interrogators. Satwant Singh, who had come out of his operation, was still critical on the fourth floor of the surgical ward in Ram Manohar Lohia Hospital.

However, one of the major cues being followed by the intelligence agencies is that four plots were simultaneously being executed. While three of them are supposed to be super-headed by the same foreign intelligence agency, the fourth is said to be based in Kashmir. According to one source, Mrs Gandhi had already been warned in writing the week before by her intelligence men that foreign professional assassins were being hired by non-resident Sikh extremists based in Canada and the funds had already been routed clandestinely to them.

The possibility that some of the assassins had already come into the country was also not ruled out. But they have not been identified. The final answer will only emerge once the investigative team, headed by Mr S. Anand Ram, CISF chief, submits its report.

Meanwhile, all the three police officers, Mr Pillai, Mr Gupta and Mr Gulia, were all transferred or suspended and the IB chief, Mr R.K. Kapoor replaced. Finally, the former RAW chief, Mr R.N. Kao, also stepped down as security adviser to the PM.

It was a known fact that Mrs Gandhi herself paid little heed to her own security at public functions. Even at the height of the threat to her life, after the Khalistan extremists had explicitly announced that she was on their hit list, she bluntly turned down a suggestion that a bullet proof glass be erected in front of her lectern at Red Fort during this year's Independence Day address.

She was, by her own admission, oblivious of the fact that two dummy Prime Ministers had been dressed identically like her and had been driven to the Red Fort in identical white Ambassadors before and after her so as to confuse any potential assassin. Had she known, security officials did not rule out her quashing the plan.

On another occasion, when she had gone to visit some of her relatives at Saket in south Delhi, she had admonished her security personnel when she thought they were making a nuisance of themselves in their efforts to conduct anti-sabotage checks.

But possibly the greatest danger she courted was in early 1981 when she suddenly decided to visit the camps set up for the mammoth *kisan* rally. She rushed out of her residence without any warning, leaving behind her aides desperately calling for her security officers.

Officials, who still shudder when they think of that day confess that despite their best efforts, she was totally mobbed and was a sitting duck for any lurking assassin. At one stage, her car was surrounded by the rally participants and had to crawl an inch a minute to get out of the area. They recall instances like the wedding of the daughter of the Congress(I) MP, Mr Dharam Dass Shastri, when despite all efforts from security men, she was nearly mobbed.

Sikh Major General Reportedly Plotted Assassination

NC020631 Paris AFP in English 0611 GMT 2 Nov 84

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 2 (AFP) — A Sikh major general of the Indian Army masterminded the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and three Sikh assailants were involved in the killing, one of the assassins was quoted as saying here today.

The conservative newspaper *STATESMAN*, which is considered to be reliable, said Satwant Singh, a member of Mrs Gandhi's security staff who was wounded by her bodyguards immediately after the attack, made the confession to his interrogators in hospital.

He reportedly added that a conspiracy was also hatched to kill Federal President Zail Singh, a Sikh, and Rajiv Gandhi, son of the late premier who succeeded her in the office.

Satwant Singh reportedly said that three men had taken a vow to kill the premier at a Sikh temple in the Indian capital.

"The most disconcerting aspect of Satwant Singh's confession is that the entire operation was being masterminded by a serving senior Army officer with the rank of major general based in Chandigarh (the joint capital of Punjab and Haryana states)", the paper said.

Plans had been made to kill Mrs. Gandhi on October 13 with a powerful grenade, but the chosen assassin, Beant Singh, had failed to throw the grenade, Satwant Singh reportedly said.

Beant Singh, a member of Mrs. Gandhi's security guard, gunned down the prime minister on Wednesday before being shot dead by her security guard.

The paper said that the security team protecting Satwant Singh doubled its guards yesterday after three Sikhs dressed as policemen demanded to see him. They were prevented from getting near the hospital room and left, the paper said.

Meanwhile, local media reports put the nation-wide death toll in anti-Sikh retaliatory violence at between 100 to 160.

The statesman described the riots as the worst since the 1947 Hindu-Moslem violence when India became independent from Britain.

The Indian *EXPRESS* newspaper put the death toll here alone at 60 and added that 115 people had died in the provinces.

masterminded by the Army officer is baseless. The spokesman said that the report that a lieutenant general has been arrested in connection with the assassination of Mrs Gandhi is malicious and baseless.

Major General Detained

NC021312 Paris AFP in English 1302 GMT 2 Nov 84

[Excerpts] New Delhi, Nov 2 (AFP) — Police today took into custody a major general in the Indian Army for his alleged involvement in the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on Wednesday, reliable sources said.

The unnamed major general, who was identified as a Sikh, was arrested in Chandigarh, the joint capital of Sikh-dominated northern Punjab state, the sources said.

However, the federal Defence Ministry in New Delhi denied that such an arrest had been made.

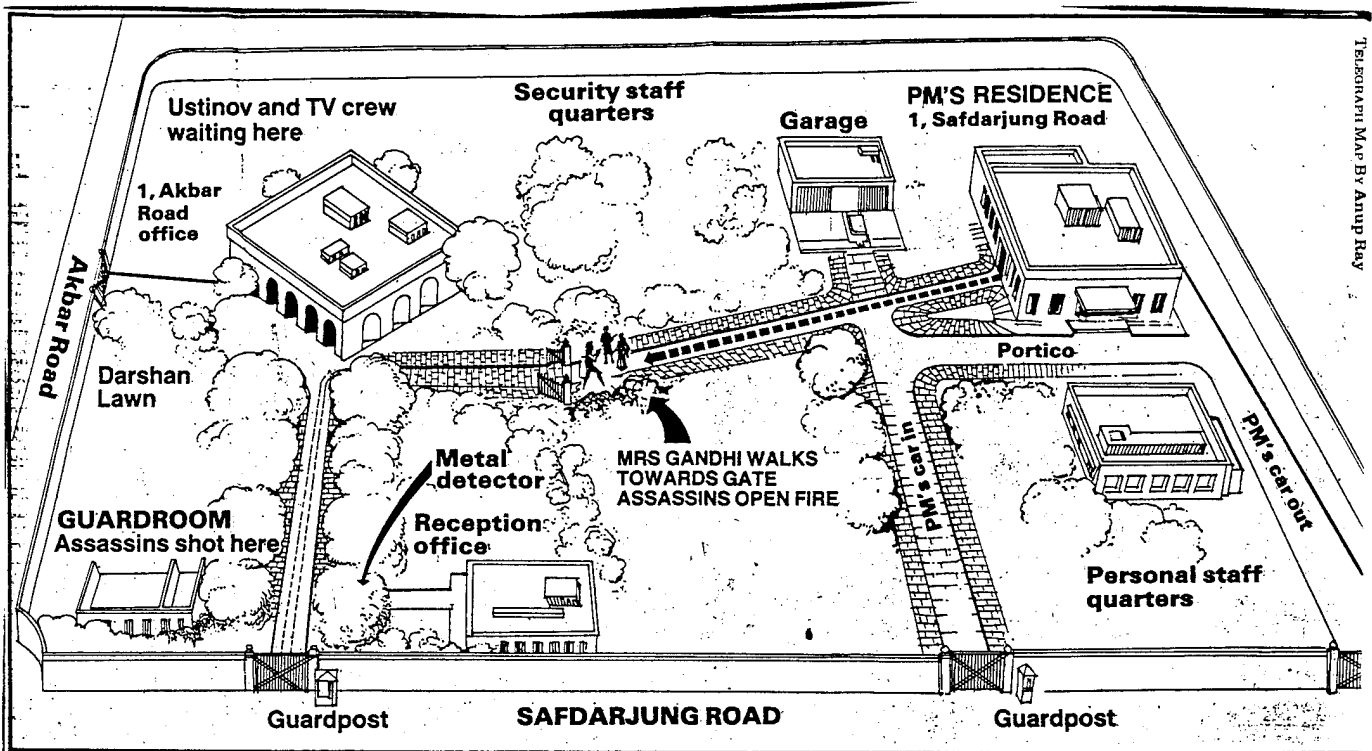
The sources said the officer was arrested after being named by one of Mrs. Gandhi's assassins as the mastermind behind her slaying.

Reliable sources said that a senior Sikh police officer in Punjab State had also been arrested on unspecified charges.

Major General's Involvement Denied

BK021246 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1234 GMT 2 Nov 84

[Text] It has been officially denied that a serving Army officer of the rank of major general posted at Chandigarh masterminded the assassination of Mrs Gandhi. A spokesman of the Defense Ministry said in New Delhi today that the report in a section of the press that interrogation of one of the assassins of Mrs Gandhi has revealed that the entire operation of eliminating VIP's was



Unanswered questions

- Was the assassination the brainchild of two security officers or is it part of some "deeprooted conspiracy" to destabilise the country, as the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, has alleged?

- Why didn't the crack Indo-Tibetan Border Police commandos or Mrs Gandhi's personal security officer, Mr D.K. Bhatt, or any of the other security officers around react in the 40 seconds that elapsed between Beant Singh emptying his revolver and Satwant Singh opening up with his stengun?

- According to the manual on the PM's security, there should have been six guards close to her wherever she was. These guards, called the "shoe ring" are to form a human cover in the event of such an emergency. Where were these guards that day? Who were the members of this "shoe ring" and is any action being taken against them?

- Among the security forces incharge of the PM's security are members of the special task force who have to undergo rigorous training in unarmed combat and are supposed to be well versed in the latest security measures followed in the West. When Reagan was shot at, his securitymen had immediately thrown a ring around him. Why was not the same thing done for Mrs Gandhi?

- What kind of security clearance were Beant Singh and Satwant Singh put through when they were inducted into the PM's security setup? Was this clearance a one-off affair or was it done periodically? If the latter, was it noted that Beant Singh used to have meetings in his house at odd hours? Was it also ever noted that Beant Singh, in particular, had not hidden his turmoil at the army operation in Punjab? Is it true that while all Beant Singh's neighbours were celebrating Diwali he was closetted in a meeting? Who all were present at this meeting?

- Was the Delhi mastermind of the plot one Giani, a resident of Ashok Vihar? Did this Giani administer a

pledge to Beant Singh and Satwant Singh at the Bangla Sahib Gurdwara to kill Mrs Gandhi? Did this Giani flee the country on October 24 inspite of the fact that he was under surveillance? Have any attempts been made to track him down?

● Since Beant Singh is known to be related to Harinder Singh, the ex-Indian envoy to Norway who quit in protest against the army operation at the Golden Temple, did Harinder Singh have a role to play? Since it is now also known that Harinder Singh had come to see Beant Singh in London when the latter had accompanied Mrs Gandhi on a trip abroad before the Punjab operation was it that Beant Singh and his relative were conspiring with Punjab extremists even before the crackdown?

● Did Satwant Singh write letters to Beant Singh from his home in Gurdaspur urging his senior to go ahead with the plot? Were a cache of such letters found in the residence of Beant Singh by the police? What was there in those letters?

● As per the rules of the security 'blue book' any person coming back from

leave is not given an assignment immediately. Why was Satwant Singh allowed to rejoin duty as soon as he came back even though it was known that he had gone to his home in the sensitive border district of Gurdaspur in Punjab?

● Several disturbing events took place in Delhi in the last few months. In April, one Sharma of the PM's security was abducted and killed, it is believed, by Punjab extremists. Some time ago there was a large scale theft of arms and ammunition from the armoury of the Delhi Armed Police. Soon after this about a dozen Sikh policemen of the Delhi Police are believed to have gone home, never to be seen again. Did these events cast a shadow on the assassination?

● Did Yogender Mani, non-gazetted officer in the second battalion of the Delhi Armed Police, Satwant Singh's unit, submit in writing to his senior, Mr R.K. Sharma, that Satwant Singh was unfit for duty at the PM's residence? Why didn't Mr Sharma take action on the report?



It is just after 9am on Wednesday. Indira Gandhi, dressed in a cheerful orange sari, walks in the morning sunshine from her bungalow towards the gate in the garden hedge that leads to her office.

Ever since she ordered troops to storm the Sikhs' most sacred shrine, the Golden Temple in Amritsar, last June, there have been fears that an attempt might be made on her life. But her own garden is surely one of the safest places she can be.

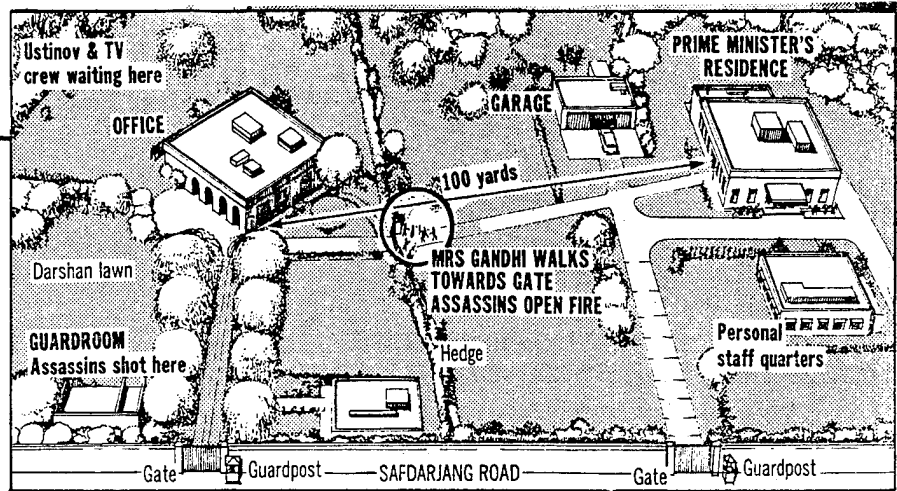
She is protected by a 150-man special task force, assiduously screened through six sets of interviews and tests. Two hours earlier – at 7 am – no fewer than 50 of them assigned to the morning shift have taken up positions inside the sprawling and elegant compound in Safdarjung Road, Delhi.

Despite these precautions there is usually one security risk. Most mornings in the gardens Mrs Gandhi holds a *darshan*, a meeting to hear grievances from ordinary people. But today, tired by a two-day tour of Orissa, and wishing to comfort her two grandchildren – Rajiv's son and daughter – who have been slightly hurt in a car accident the day before, she has cancelled the *darshan*.

After breakfast with the children and her Italian daughter-in-law, Sonia (Rajiv is in Calcutta), Mrs Gandhi now walks along the gravel path beneath the towering tamarind and margosa trees.

In a far corner of the garden beyond the gate, Peter Ustinov and a television crew are waiting to interview her. Two or three yards behind her are five security men.

Directly in front of her, about three-quarters of the way along the 100-yard path, two Sikh security guards stand at attention on either side of the gate. One is Beant Singh, 33, a favourite of Mrs Gandhi.



Two months ago, when Mrs Gandhi was asked by foreign journalists in this same garden whether, after the storming of the temple, she could trust Sikh guards, she looked fondly at Beant and replied: "When I have Sikhs like this around me then I don't believe I have anything to fear."

The other guard, Satwant Singh, 21, is unknown to Mrs Gandhi. He joined the staff only this year, a month before the storming of the temple.

Three feet from the men, Mrs Gandhi gives the traditional *namaste* greeting, head slightly bowed, hands raised and pressed together before her.

It is her final act. Suddenly Beant raises his .38 revolver and fires three shots at her.

Out of sight, deep in the garden, a startled Ustinov instinctively looks at his watch: it is exactly eight minutes and 27 seconds past nine.

As Mrs Gandhi falls, Satwant Singh empties his stengun into her body. Seven bullets pierce her abdomen, three her chest, two her heart.

Sonia rushes up the garden path, in a nightgown, her feet bare. She screams,

"Mummy, oh my God, Mummy." Guards are running from all directions. Only Beant and Satwant Singh are calm. They lay down their arms. Beant says: "I've done what I had to. You do what you want to."

Members of the para-military Indo-Tibetan border guard bundle them off to the guardhouse at the far side of the compound. A white Ambassador car screeches up the path. In truth Mrs Gandhi is already dead but she is put inside the car – her black sandals falling to the bloody ground – and is rushed to the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences.

The two assassins are by now in the guardroom. A scuffle flares up. More shots ring out. Beant Singh falls dead. Satwant is wounded and is taken unconscious to the Lohia hospital.

At the All-India Institute a team of 12 doctors desperately try to revive Mrs Gandhi: she is given 88 pints of blood. It is no use. At 2.30pm – more than five hours after it had actually become fact – the hospital officially records that Indira Gandhi is dead.

Mary Anne Weaver

The dramatis personae

Beant Singh, sub-inspector, one of the assassins

A Majhabi Sikh (scheduled caste) from Molaya village, near Chandigarh (Ropar district), the 36-year-old Beant Singh joined Delhi Police in 1972. Four years later he was posted to the VIP security setup and in 1980 was inducted into the PM's security. He was one of the most 'trusted' men in the PM's security and had twice undergone the intensive training for security. He had accompanied Mrs Gandhi on her tour to the Scandinavian countries last year.

On the day of the assassination Beant Singh was in the afternoon shift but had managed to change his duty to the morning shift and was positioned in plain clothes and equipped with a .38 revolver at the TMC gate joining 1, Safdarjung Road to 1, Akbar Road.

Satwant Singh, constable in the IIInd Battalion of the Delhi Armed Police, the second assassin.

A young, six-footer energetic Sikh from Gurdaspur district (Punjab) on the Pakistan border, he joined Delhi Police in January 1982 from Bareilly (UP).

After completion of training he was sent to the DAP second battalion and within a year he was deputed to the special security district. Since then he has been on security duty on the outer cordon at the PM's residence. Satwant Singh had undergone the intensive weapon training course once.

On October 31 he managed to change his duty from the outer cordon to the inner cordon with little difficulty.

Mr H.D. Pillai, additional commissioner of police (security), overall in-charge of the security of the PM and other VIPs.

An IPS officer of the 1960 batch from the Uttar Pradesh cadre, he was SP Jhansi, city SP, Lucknow, and then in different slots in the crime branch of the Uttar Pradesh Police.

During the Janata regime, when Mr Charan Singh was the home minister, he was brought to Delhi and posted as DIG, administration, in the Delhi Police on February 21, 1978. Mr J.N. Chaturvedi, also of the UP cadre was IGP, Delhi, then.

But in less than two years he was shunted off as chief security officer, BHEL, Bhopal.

It came as a big surprise for Delhi Police officers, when in August 1982, Mr Pillai was again brought back to Delhi Police and was given charge of security as additional commissioner of police (security and traffic). He was immediately assigned the security job for the Asiad, and he helped Mr P.S. Bawa, who was then looking after Asiad security.

To help him make the necessary arrangements for the security of head of states during CHOGM in March, Mr Pillai was sent to Sydney for a special crash course on security. When the CHOGM went off peacefully Mr Pillai and his entire unit was praised by Mrs Gandhi.

Since then he has been tipped for the post of joint secretary (personnel) in the ministry of external affairs, a plum assignment. In fact, the file on him in this regard had already been cleared before Mrs Gandhi's assassination and had the tragedy not intervened, Mr Pillai would have already joined the new post.

His wife, Uma Pillai, an IAS officer of the 1968 batch of the UP cadre is serving in NOIDA (Ghaziabad), near Delhi.

Mr Pillai was transferred on

November 6 and will now face the high power inquiry committee which will investigate the causes of Mrs Gandhi's assassination and the motive behind the murder.

Mr Gopi Ram Gupta, deputy commissioner of police (special security district), in charge of security at 1, Safdarjung Road and 1, Akbar Road.

He joined Delhi Police in 1964 under the Delhi Andaman Nicobar Police (DANI) services. In 1971 he was selected to the IPS cadre with the seniority of that year's batch. He has spent most of his 20 years in service in the capital.

In December 1981 he was posted as watch and ward officer in Parliament House. In February 1982, a special security district for the Prime Minister's security was created on the recommendation of a high-powered committee under the supervision of Mr Ram Nath Kao. Mr Gupta took charge of the district as deputy commissioner of police in July.

Apart from overseeing security in the twin complex of the PM's residence, he was

also in-charge of her security en route to South Block and Parliament House. On October 31, when Mrs Gandhi was assassinated Mr Gupta was on his way to 1, Safdarjung Road. He got the message on wireless and within three and a half minutes was at the PM's house. He was suspended for the security lapses on November 5.

Mr Duli Chand Gulia, assistant commissioner of police (special security district).

The day Mrs Gandhi was assassinated, Mr Gulia was on morning shift duty, and was mainly responsible of the positioning of security guards in the inner and outer cordons in the PM's residence. Though one inspector along with another subinspector maintains the duty register and

checks the guard posting at different positions, the concerning ACP was supposed to be aware of guard positions in every shift. Mr Gulia was "not aware" of the changes made by the inspector who shifted Satwant Singh's position from gate no 4 to the inner cordon near the wicket gate.

Mr Gulia joined the Delhi Police as assistant subinspec-

tor in the Fifties and mainly worked in the Tilak Nagar and Tilak Marg police stations. After getting the promotions due on his seniority he became the ACP and was transferred to the special security district in 1982. Known in Delhi Police as a sharp shooter, he was also suspended on November 5.

Mr Dinesh Kumar Bhatt, assistant commissioner of police (special security district), personal security officer to the PM.

One of three personal security officers (PSOs) to Mrs Gandhi—the other two being Mr B.K. Mehta and Mr Ramwaroop Sharma—he was supposed to be with Mrs Gandhi all the time wherever she moved. But on October 31 when Mrs Gandhi was busy with her make-up for Peter Ustinov's TV serial, Mr Bhatt came out of 1, Safdarjung Road and went to the lawns of 1, Akbar Road, where Mr Ustinov was also getting ready for the TV shooting. When Mrs Gandhi was shot Mr Bhatt rushed there from 1, Akbar Road, but by that time it was too late.

Mr Bhatt (27) is from Mathura and joined the Delhi Police in 1981 under the DANI recruitment. In 1982 he joined the special security district.

STATESMAN Cites Confession of Gandhi Assassin

BK061038 Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 2 Nov 84 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 1 — What Satwant Singh, one of the assassins of Mrs Gandhi, is reported to have told the doctors in the Willingdon hospital reveals that there was a well-planned conspiracy to eliminate her.

Satwant Singh regained consciousness around 12.30 p.m. after an emergency operation in which four bullets were removed from his body.

After regaining consciousness, Satwant Singh was quite jubilant and said that he had got rid of Mrs Gandhi. The doctors told him

that his jubilation would be short-lived as he would surely be eliminated by those who had employed him to assassinate Mrs Gandhi. Satwant Singh then became morose and opened up.

He told the doctors that it was Beant Singh who fired at Mrs Gandhi first. Then he asked Satwant to fire and he pumped bullets into the prime minister. The third clean-shaven accomplice backed them up.

Giving the background of the conspiracy, Satwant Singh revealed that three of them (Beant Singh, Satwant Singh and the clean-shaven accomplice) had taken a vow at Gurdwara Bangla Sahib to kill Mrs Gandhi. The vow was administered by one Giani who used to come to gurdwara by a DTC [Delhi Transport Corporation] bus from Ashok Vihar. He was in charge of the extremists' activities in the capital.

According to Satwant Singh's confession, Beant Singh had taken a hand-grenade to the prime minister's house on October 13 to use it on Mrs Gandhi, but he could not carry out his assassination plan that day.

The most disconcerting aspect of Satwant Singh's story is that the entire operation had been masterminded by a senior serving major-general based in Chandigarh.

Satwant Singh told the doctors that two more had taken a vow to eliminate Mr Rajiv Gandhi. One of them was also in the roof of the multi-storeyed hospital building.

It was learnt that someone, probably one of the assassins, called out to Mr D.K. Bhatt, the personal security officer of Mrs Gandhi, who was on duty with her before she was shot at. Mr Bhatt was just one step behind Mrs Gandhi and could have tried to cover her had his attention not (?been diverted).

Investigators are trying to ascertain if there is connexion between the assassination and some people who were detained and questioned by the intelligence bureau and special branch officers a few weeks ago. These people were believed to have been in a group of extremists who had come to assassinate Mrs Gandhi.

UNI [United News of India] adds: Close relations, including the fathers and brothers of Mrs Gandhi's two killers, were arrested in Gurdaspur and Chandigarh late last night and taken to Delhi for interrogation.

In Chandigarh, police raided the residence of Sub-Inspector Beant Singh in Maloya village twice yesterday and arrested his three brothers.

Sucha Singh, father of Beant Singh, was picked up later in the night. The police also seized some letters written by Beant Singh to his brothers and father.

The family of Sub-Inspector Beant Singh is reported to be missing from the police officer's house in the security lines, according to police. Beant Singh was one of the most trusted bodyguards of Mrs Gandhi, security officers at 1, Saidarjung Road said. [sentence as published]

PTI adds the 55-year-old father of Satwant Singh was taken away by the police from Agwan Khurd village 20 km from Indo-Pakistan border near Dera Baba Nanak sector early today.

Meanwhile, investigation of Mrs Gandhi's assassination continued on Thursday, but slowly, because of the violence and the need to provide security at Teen Murti Bhawan.

Gandhi killers shot later

Mary Ann Weaver
New Delhi

THE two security men who assassinated Mrs Indira Gandhi last Wednesday were not shot on the spot by other guards, as reported. They were bundled off to a guardhouse in the grounds of the prime minister's compound and shot there, apparently after a scuffle with their captors.

Yesterday Peter Ustinov, who had been waiting to interview Mrs Gandhi, said that there had been a gap of "three to four minutes" after the assassination before he heard two more bursts of gunfire. He said that Mrs Gandhi's press secretary had tried "to persuade us to take out of our commentary reference to the second burst of shooting. They didn't want us to give the impression that the commandos had extracted revenge, I suppose". Ustinov said there had been an "uncanny silence" between the two shootings.

The report was corroborated by Sheamus Smith, Ustinov's producer, who was at the far corner of the garden when Mrs Gandhi was killed. He said yesterday that the second burst of machine-gun fire did not immediately follow the first shots, but there was a gap of "perhaps four, five, six minutes" after Mrs Gandhi was killed.

Smith went towards the spot where the prime minister was killed. By the time he reached it, both her body and that of the assassins had disappeared. An abandoned machine-gun lay at the site. He then went in search of Ustinov "and it was then that I heard the second burst".

It seems that after the two assassins had shot Mrs Gandhi, they surrendered to members of the para-military Indo-Tibetan border guard. The guards took them to a guardhouse at the

western end of the prime minister's compound. Precisely what happened there is not known but, according to one intelligence source, Beant Singh suddenly grabbed for one of his captors' guns and Satwant Singh pulled a small dagger from his turban. In the ensuing chaos, Beant was shot dead. Satwant was wounded and taken to hospital.

Last night further evidence emerged of a startling series of security lapses both before and after the assassination:

- The younger of the two assassins, Satwant, 21, had returned to duty only on Monday, after two months' leave in his village of Agira in Punjab's Gurdaspur district. This is one of three areas which remain under army control after the storming of the Sikhs' most sacred shrine, the Golden Temple, in June.

Satwant's 1982 induction records do not record that he was from the Punjab.

- Both Satwant and his fellow assassin, Beant, 33, had requested a change of duty to be stationed on Wednesday morning at the gate through which Mrs Gandhi had to pass to get from her house to her office. Satwant, who would not normally have been at the gate, had complained of stomach pains and said he wanted to be close to a lavatory. Beant, who should have been on duty on Wednesday night, had asked to be shifted to the morning roll simply for "personal reasons".

- According to sources at the Lohia Hospital, at 1.30 am on Thursday, while Satwant lay unconscious, three Sikhs in police uniform, claiming they were from the Delhi police, arrived asking to question him. A heated exchange followed when security officers outside Satwant's room refused him entry. Then the three Sikhs were simply allowed to go, without further questioning.

An Indian newspaper, The Statesman, has quoted a hospital doctor as saying that Satwant had declared in his delirium that an earlier attempt to kill the prime minister on October 13 had been abandoned.

Additional reporting by Parin Janmohamed

Satwant's Bhopal connections

By N. K. Singh

Express News Service

BHOPAL, Nov. 5.

The Intelligence Wing of Madhya Pradesh Police is investigating a report that Satwant Singh, the surviving security guard-turned-assassin of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, had visited Bhopal in June this year and stayed at a local police station for a fortnight.

Official sources confirmed that a local social worker had handed over a slip, purported to have been written by Satwant to the Director General of Police, Mr. B. K. Mukherjee. The slip carries Satwant's name, designation and the Prime Minister's house address.

Official sources told the Express News Service that the police were also working for the theory that Mrs. Gandhi's would-be killer had contacted some persons with extremist leanings during his stay here.

However, the Chief Secretary to the Madhya Pradesh Government, Mr. Brahma Swaroop, pooh-pooched the issue. "I personally don't believe the story," he told newsmen here today.

The story that Satwant had visited Bhopal and contacted some "extremists" here had been making rounds the State capital ever since Mrs. Gandhi's assassination. Some persons here are reportedly in possession of hand-written slips carrying his name and address.

According to informed sources, Satwant had visited Bhopal to appear in the intermediate examination of the MP Board of Secondary Educa-

tion. He had reportedly approached the local police requesting for accommodation at a police station on the plea that he could not get room in any hotel.

His request was accepted because he was "Prime Minister's security guard" and he was reportedly lodged at the Hanumanganj police station. Some policemen lodged at the police station distinctly remember him.

In fact, it is being said now that Satwant's activities during his stay at Bhopal were "suspicious". He used to be away from the police station throughout the day and return late at night. Once he was also reportedly beaten by some goondas in the Laxmi talkies area, the local red light locality.

According to a Hindi daily of Indore, Satwant was accompanied by a friend who had stayed at a local hotel. The friend was also supposed to appear in the intermediate examination. But he disappeared mysteriously after the Army action in Punjab on June 9 without appearing in the examination. Later the police searched for him but could not trace him.

Satwant had met a number of persons during his stay at Bhopal. The police are now trying to find out the details about his Bhopal connections.

Beant phoned London on murder-eve

NEW DELHI, Nov. 28 (PTI). Investigating agencies today claimed to have unearthed certain "vital clues" behind the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi following sustained interrogation of constable Satwant Singh, some Government officials and those in charge of the Prime Minister's security.

The sources refused to divulge the clues on the ground that it would hamper the progress of investigations.

It is learnt that sub-inspector Beant Singh, who was gunned down by special commandos after he had shot Mrs. Gandhi on October 31, made a telephone call to London on October 30 night.

An official of the Posts and Telegraphs Department, who reportedly helped in quickly connecting the call,

is being questioned by the investigating teams headed by Mr. S. Anand Ram.

According to intelligence sources, Satwant Singh, the surviving assassin of Mrs. Gandhi has been shifted from Delhi to a neighbouring State following threats to kill him to destroy crucial evidence.

The threats came through anonymous telephone calls and letters, the sources said.

A tight security net has been thrown around Satwant Singh, key witnesses and officers engaged in the investigations.

It is learnt that Satwant Singh during interrogation disclosed that he was to have fired the first shot at Mrs. Gandhi. This led the intelligence officials to believe that Beant Singh would silence Satwant on the pretext of saving Mrs. Gandhi.

Had this worked out, the sources said, Beant Singh would have emerged as a dedicated guard. He was already known to be a devoted duty officer with a strong sense of loyalty towards Mrs. Gandhi.

It is believed that at the last moment Satwant fumbled while pressing the trigger on his sten gun and Beant pulled out his pistol and shot at Mrs. Gandhi, the sources said.

Sources however said that a clear picture of the conspiracy was yet to emerge as Satwant Singh continued to give contradictory and misleading statements making the task difficult for the investigating teams.

Canada Reports No Request To Watch for Sikh Suspect

Washington Post Foreign Service

A spokesman for the Royal Canadian Mounted Police said yesterday that they have received no request from Indian or international police agencies to assist in locating a man New Delhi authorities indicated was being sought in connection with the assassination of prime minister Indira Gandhi, and who was said to have fled to Canada.

Police authorities in India said Monday they had been in touch with the Paris-based International Police Organization, known as Interpol, to help locate a third man believed connected with last week's assassination. Gandhi was shot and killed by two of her bodyguards.

However, Superintendent John Benthon, who is in charge of public relations for the Mounties, said that "at this point in time we've had no request from any Indian or international law enforcement agencies" to assist in locating anyone connected with the assassination.

Sikh Suspect Taken for Questioning

By SANJOY HAZARIKA

Special to The New York Times

NEW DELHI, Nov. 15 — The surviving suspect in the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was taken from his hospital bed to a secret location for questioning today, sources at the hospital and others said.

The suspect, Satwant Singh, a constable in the Prime Minister's bodyguard who was said to have been wounded by security men at the scene of the assassination, was remanded tonight by a local magistrate to 14 days in police custody, according to The Press Trust of India news agency.

A senior doctor at Ram Manohar Lohia Hospital said Mr. Singh was taken away "under heavy escort."

The second purported assassin, a Sikh police inspector named Beant Singh, was apparently killed by loyal commandos in the same incident.

Transfer Late at Night

A second source close to intelligence and police officials in New Delhi said today that at least 50 commandos and policemen were involved in the late-night transfer of Mr. Singh.

There was speculation that the suspect had been taken to an interrogation cell in the 300-year-old Red Fort in the old walled city of Delhi.

The doctor who looked after Mr. Singh in the hospital said: "He was fit to be discharged. He is completely clear in his mind."

The doctor added that Mr. Singh still had a bullet in his back and that "he has no problem standing, but some difficulty in walking."

A team of intelligence officials investigating Mr. Singh's purported role in the Oct. 31 assassination is led by S. Anand Ram, one of the country's senior police officials. Mr. Ram was reported to be personally questioning the 21-year-old Sikh.

In another development today, a local judge refused bail for Jagtar

Singh, a Sikh police commando who was also posted at Mrs. Gandhi's official residence, and who was arrested Oct. 31 when a search of his room led to the discovery of a bullet. Police officers are not allowed to handle arms and ammunition except when they are on duty.

After duty hours, police officers are expected to hand over their weapons to the local armory. A Government prosecutor said Jagtar Singh had been questioned for possible links to the Gandhi assassination and was a close friend of Satwant Singh, with whom he shared a room.

Security officials kept word of Jagtar Singh's detention a secret until late Wednesday night, apparently fearing news of it could put other possible conspirators on guard.

The Government has announced that an inquiry into the assassination will be led by a senior justice of the Supreme Court.

Others Being Questioned

Investigators have already questioned a wide range of people, including several relatives of both Singhs. Others being investigated are the commandos who fired at the purported assassins and other Sikh security officers who were friends and companions of the two suspects in the attack.

Senior intelligence and police officials were ousted from their posts after the Gandhi slaying, which touched off anti-Sikh rioting in New Delhi and elsewhere.

Local newspapers have reported that Satwant Singh had spoken of possible foreign involvement in the assassination. Although investigators have not ruled out what is called here "a foreign hand," they are said to be concentrating on Mr. Singh's connections to extremist groups in the Punjab and whether he received backing from militant Sikhs abroad.

Many Sikhs in the West had openly proclaimed their hostility to Mrs. Gandhi after she ordered the army into the Golden Temple, the Sikh religion's holiest shrine, at Amritsar this summer to crush a terrorist movement.

Toll Put at 1,277

Meanwhile, the Indian Government announced that 1,277 people died in the anti-Sikh riots after the assassination.

In its first detailed statement on the violence, the Government said 651 people died in New Delhi and 108 were killed on trains coming to the capital.

The others were killed in a belt of six states stretching from Kashmir in the north to West Bengal in the east. Not all who died were Sikhs, the report said.

The report was presented by the Home Affairs Minister, P. V. Narasimha Rao, before a parliamentary committee. Mr. Rao said 3,530 people had been arrested for their role in the riots. He added that 167 Sikh shrines were attacked and that nearly 6,000 Sikh stores, homes and industries were burned and damaged. He estimated the loss to property at \$20 million.

Revocation of Bail Sought

NEW DELHI, Nov. 15 (AP) — The Government asked the Supreme Court today to revoke temporary bail granted to a reporter for The Associated Press accused of provoking Hindu-Sikh discord with a report on an army assault against Sikh militants.

The Home Affairs Ministry urged the court to cancel immediately the interim bail granted to the reporter, Brahma Chellaney, 27 years old, and to cancel the restraining order that prevented his arrest. The Supreme Court had granted temporary bail until a formal bail hearing next Tuesday.

Justice Thakkar to probe assassination

From Our Legal Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Nov. 12.—The Government of India today appointed Mr Justice M. P. Thakkar, a senior Judge of the Supreme Court, to investigate the events and circumstances of the death of Indira Gandhi. This followed a Cabinet decision made earlier this month to appoint a one-judge commission under the 1956 Commissions of Inquiry Act to probe the assassination.

The 61-year-old former Chief Justice of Gujarat High Court, Mr Justice Thakkar was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court in March 1983. As the Chief Justice in Gujarat, he had encouraged the formation of "people's courts" within the State, so that disputes could be settled by the people and the local magistrates in the areas concerned, without litigation being brought to the local courts. His term as a Supreme Court Judge will expire in November 1988.

PTI and UNI, quoting Home Ministry sources, add that the terms of reference of the panel will be worked out in consultation with Mr Justice Thakkar and a formal notification in this regard will be issued soon.

The sources said there would be "no duplication" in the work of the commission and the special investigating team led by Mr S. Anand Ram, former director-general of the Central Industrial Security Force.

There would, however, be "some linkage" between the commission and the investigating machinery. Some of the material collected by Mr Anand Ram could be utilized by the commission, the sources added.

Mr Justice Thakkar told reporters informally at a meeting: "I shall try my best to find out the truth", and added: "It is a tremendous responsibility and I pray to God to give me strength and wisdom".

Declining to say how long it would take the commission to finish the inquiry he said: "It all depends on the terms of reference. "It is a very delicate matter with many dimensions which have to be taken into account".

Asked how he would go about

the inquiry, the Judge said that since there had been no precedent, except the Warren Commission in the USA which had inquired into the assassination of President Kennedy, he would have to use all his experience as a judge and as a man and function according to his vision of the world.

His first priority would be the inquiry, Mr Justice Thakkar said, although he would not like to be absent from the Supreme Court which faces the problem of arrears.

Post mortem report of Indira Gandhi

From Our Delhi Office

NOV. 12.—The post mortem report of Indira Gandhi is said to have indicated that she had 29 to 30 bullet wounds, yet her heart and brain remained undamaged.

Reliable sources said that since there were so many wounds on her body, not all the trajectories of the bullets could be traced completely. Hence the confusion about the number of bullets.

The post mortem report has given the exact time of death as 2-23 p.m. and says that "the cause of death was excessive loss of blood and cardiac arrest".

Another startling fact is that none of the three revolver shots, believed to have been fired first by th sub-inspector, Beant Singh, was fatal. The first shot, according to the doctors at the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences hit Mrs Gandhi in the left upper arm and shattered the bone, the other two shots hit her near the pelvic region

and on the right side of the chest. Authoritative sources indicate that Mrs Gandhi suffered a number of injuries in the right lung, the liver and the iliac arteries and veins, just below the bifurcation of the main artery, the aorta. The spine was also shattered.

Many senior doctors this reporter talked to emphasized that the first three revolver shots need not have been fatal. Even at that stage, if her security men could have prevented the constable, Satwant Singh, from using his sten-gun to riddle her with bullets, she could have been saved.

Doctors also point out that normally life saving medical aid, like blood transfusion, oxygen, and cardiac massage, should have been available to her "within a minute or two" of her having been shot at. They say that nearly an hour elapsed between the shooting incident which occurred at 9.08 a.m. and her entry into the intensive care operation theatre at the AIIMS. The delay in medical aid

could have cost her life even if there had been the slightest chance to save her.

Doctors talk of the "golden hour theory" for accidents and emergency cases, and point out that recently in the West the need for quick life-saving medical aid has been increasingly emphasized. In many emergency cases, the longer the gap between the accident and medical aid, the lesser is the chance of saving the patient's life.

Sometime before the non-aligned meeting a wireless set was installed at the AIIMS and this was manned round-the-clock to receive any emergency call. The question that is being asked by the doctors at the institute was why a message was not sent to the AIIMS as soon as the car carrying the critically wounded Mrs Gandhi left 1 Safdarjung Road. A message could have helped save at least 10 precious minutes, they say. It is learnt that a message was received just a minute before the car arrived at the institute.

Wild rumours impeding probe into assassination

From G. K. Reddy

NEW DELHI, Nov. 16.

The Central Government is concerned that the police investigations into the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi by two Sikh security men on duty at the Prime Minister's residence are being impeded by a combination of avoidable leaks and wild rumours about the origin and ramifications of the sinister conspiracy to kill her to avenge the military action at the Golden Temple.

The investigating officers have been ordered to maintain utmost secrecy about the outcome of the interrogation under way of the surviving assassin, Satwant Singh, and other suspects who were earlier involved in the plot or were aware of it.

Earlier "attempts": According to one version, the conspirators planned to shoot Mrs. Gandhi from a distance with a high velocity rifle fitted with a telescopic light on Independence Day, while she was addressing the nation from the ramparts of the Red Fort. Another report, which has received wide publicity abroad, speaks of two subsequent attempts at her residence which were given up at the last moment when the two assassins, Beant Singh and Satwant Singh were not close enough to shoot her at point blank range with revolvers or sten guns.

The two assassins, it is claimed, intended to kill her while she was getting into the car in the portico but gave up the idea since other security men on duty stood in the way blocking the passage. The other occasion when a similar attempt was made, according to these reports, did not specify exactly in what manner the killing was to have taken place but indicated that it was also at her residence.

It was only on the third occasion, it is claimed, that the two assassins succeeded in switching duty with others to be able to get into a proximate position to carry out this dastardly act.

One more story that sounds rather bizarre but has been receiving wide publicity speaks of \$100,000 being paid to Beant Singh after he was contacted and persuaded by some extremists abroad to kill Mrs. Gandhi. It is claimed that when Beant Singh accompanied Mrs. Gandhi as a member of her security staff on her trip to Europe in 1982, he was met in Nor-

way by a distant relative in the Indian Foreign Service, who defected after the Golden Temple action. The diplomat also met him in London when Mrs. Gandhi was returning last year from a trip to the United Nations.

No details so far: The intensive interrogation of Satwant Singh began only today after he was moved out of the hospital and remanded to police custody, in the Red Fort. Though many of these startling reports have been attributed to him in one form or the other, it is learnt that Satwant Singh has so far disclosed no damaging details of the murder plot that could provide valuable clues for unearthing the conspiracy and tracking down the other culprits involved in it.

Another mystery yet to be unravelled is why the Indo-Tibet Border Force commandos, who had taken the two assassins into custody after they shot Mrs. Gandhi and dropped their arms, found it necessary to open fire on them in the guard room a full 10 minutes after the incident. It was not difficult for these commandos to immobilise the two assassins by handcuffing them or tying their hands with ropes.

It is reported that the security officer in charge went to the adjoining reception office to telephone the police station to send some men to arrest them. The alleged scuffle took place in his absence and that when he rushed to the guard room on hearing gunfire he found Beant Singh dead and Satwant Singh grievously injured and presumed to be dead or dying with six bullets in his abdomen.

Yet to begin: The Government has not come out with any authentic information nor contradicted any of these reports because it would amount to interfering with the investigation. But the investigation itself has not yet started in right earnest since the special team that is being constituted under Mr. Anand Ram has still not been finalised to get cracking with the probe into all aspects of this ghastly crime.

It is only the discredited Delhi police that has been carrying on some haphazard investigation until the special team gets into full stride. And it is not surprising that the public is quite appalled over the casual manner in which the whole investigation is being conducted into the most shocking political crime committed in India in the last 36 years after Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated in the wake of partition.

Probe to cover security lapse

From G. K. Reddy

NEW DELHI, Nov. 5.

The Government is still working on the precise terms of reference of the commission of inquiry which is being appointed to probe into all aspects of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's assassination.

After the Chief Justice of India nominates a sitting judge of the Supreme Court, the Government will finalise the terms of reference in consultation with him.

The commission will inquire into the reasons for the failure of the security set-up, how the two assassins were subverted and persuaded to commit this terrible crime, who were the people behind this conspiracy and whether there was any foreign hand in it.

The preliminary investigations by various intelligence agencies have not provided any clue that could help in tracking down the real culprits who masterminded the assassination, breached the security establishment at the Prime Minister's house and got Mrs. Gandhi killed by the very bodyguards who were supposed to protect her.

'Part of deep rooted plot': One of the two assassins, Satwant Singh, who is recovering from bullet injuries in a Delhi hospital, has been talking incoherently under sedation and is not yet in a condition to be interrogated at length for extracting some vital information from him. The investigators are proceeding on the assumption that the assassination was not a sudden and impulsive act of demented or irrational elements, but part of a deep-rooted plot to avenge the military action at the Golden Temple complex.

Pro-Khalistan elements' complicity: The investigators are inclined to believe, at least as a working hypothesis for a detailed probe, that the militant pro-Khalistan elements carrying on the secessionist campaign, both in India and abroad, had engineered this conspiracy and induced the two assassins to carry out this dastardly act. But they do not think that any foreign country as such was involved, in the absence of any reliable evidence to this effect.

Secrecy of hearings: Some of the hearings

of the commission dealing with the intelligence failure are likely to be held *in camera* to enable the chiefs of the agencies concerned to disclose the full details of the procedures followed for recruiting, training and screening the security personnel and the steps taken to make periodic checks and whether any of them were vulnerable to outside influences. The commission is also expected to review the role of the different agencies in their overall administrative control and day-to-day supervision.

Task force proposal stalled: The Government has been thinking for quite some time of setting up a special security task force on the lines of the U.S. Secret Service, to protect the President, the Prime Minister and other key figures. But the many vested interests that have grown within the police hierarchy at the Centre have been opposing this move and delaying the implementation of many decisions to retain their own proximity to the higher power centres.

The new Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, wants the commission to complete its inquiry and submit its report within a few months, not later than six months in any case. But as it happens in the case of all such commissions, the time-limit is bound to be extended since it may not be possible to conclude this inquiry so soon.

The Government is looking for some top retired or serving police officers to assist the commission by making detailed investigations and pursuing different leads to carry forward the inquiry within the framework of its terms of reference.

Probe into carnage?: A parallel proposal still under consideration is to set up another commission to inquire into the communal holocaust that followed the assassination, to establish whether there was an administrative failure and why timely steps were not taken to call in the Army to assist the civil authority in controlling the situation. The Government feels that unless there is a separate commission to inquire into the consequences of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination, the main commission going into the causes of this crime might not be able to concentrate on its primary task of tracing the origins of the conspiracy and identifying those behind it.

POST-ASSASSINATION VIOLENCE

Gandhi's Son Sworn In

Hindu-Sikh Clashes Follow Prime Minister's Assassination

By P.P. Balachandran
Special to The Washington Post

NEW DELHI, Oct. 31—Clashes erupted between Hindus and Sikhs today within hours of the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by two of her bodyguards, who were reported to be Sikhs, as the government moved quickly to establish a sense of political continuity in the world's largest democracy and second most populous nation.

Rajiv Gandhi, 40, the prime minister's only surviving son, was unanimously elected at an emergency Cabinet meeting to succeed her and was sworn in by President Zail Singh, himself a Sikh. Rajiv Gandhi quickly issued an appeal for calm.

"In this hour of crisis," he said, "we should not allow passions to cloud our judgment and wisdom. There cannot be a better tribute to Mrs. Gandhi than a peaceful India," he said in his first address as prime minister.

Indira Gandhi, 66, was struck down as she emerged from her official residence at 9:20 a.m. (10:50 p.m. Tuesday EST) to meet visitors, including British actor Peter Ustinov, who were to interview her. According to a spokesman, two bodyguards shot her seven times as she was walking between her residence and a bungalow used as an office. The spokesman said security forces overpowered the gunmen; one died and the other is hospitalized with wounds.

The assassination appeared to be the culmination of of tensions stemming from the two-year campaign of violence by extremist Sikh nationalists seeking an autonomous state. Mainstream Sikhs, meanwhile, have been pressing more moderate demands for increased rights.

In June, Gandhi ordered the Indian Army to storm the Golden Temple in Amritsar, the holiest site in the Sikh religion, to root out extremists headquartered there. The attack on the sacred site, in which as many as 1,000 Sikhs and Army troops reportedly were killed, outraged Sikhs in India and elsewhere.

After the shooting today, Gandhi was rushed to the All-India Institute of Medicine three miles away, where a team of 12 doctors operated on her wounds. Unofficial sources at the hospital reported that she was clinically

See GANDHI, A29, Col. 4

■ *Indira Gandhi played a large role on the world stage as prime minister of India for 15 years.* Page A27

GANDHI, From A1

ically dead on arrival at the facility, but she was officially reported to have died at 2:30 p.m. (4 a.m. EST).

Later today the government declared a 12-day period of mourning and announced that her funeral and cremation will be Saturday. Gandhi's body will lie in state at a museum that once was the home of her father, Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first prime minister. In Washington, Secretary of State George P. Shultz was named to lead the U.S. delegation to the funeral.

[Thousands of mourners forming a line nearly a mile long appeared early Thursday morning to view Gandhi's body, Washington Post correspondent William Claiborne reported.]

[As Rajiv Gandhi stood by, mourners filed past the bier on which his mother's body, covered with flowers, rested.]

[Some mourners wept and a few women chanted prayers, but for the most part the crowd walked slowly past the bier without outward emotion, Claiborne reported.]

[The area around the museum was cordoned off by hundreds of police. The streets of New Delhi were virtually deserted except for the mourners walking slowly toward Teen Murti House, as the museum is known.]

President Reagan, who was awakened at 3 a.m. with news of Gandhi's death and later paid a condolence call at the Indian Embassy with Shultz, joined a chorus of world leaders denouncing the assassination, the most momentous act of political violence in India since the 1948 assassination of Mohandas K. (Mahatma) Gandhi, champion of India's nonviolent drive for independence.

The five high priests of the Sikh religion condemned the assassination of Gandhi, a Hindu, as did leaders of the Akali Dal, the moderate political

party of the Sikhs. But in Punjab State, where most of India's Sikhs live, other Sikhs distributed sweets to celebrate her death, which they viewed as retribution for the storming of the Golden Temple.

Police and other officials reported that the prime minister's killers were Sikhs, and a caller to The Associated Press in New Delhi said the assassination was a Sikh act of vengeance.

"We have taken our revenge," the caller said. Long live the Sikh religion."

The man, who refused to identify himself, said, "This is the action of the entire Sikh people," AP reported.

Political leaders, Cabinet members and police reached the hospital soon after the shooting, and as the news spread, a crowd of several thousand gathered.

"She is no more," a Congress-Party official announced to the throng outside, which erupted into tears and cries of anger.

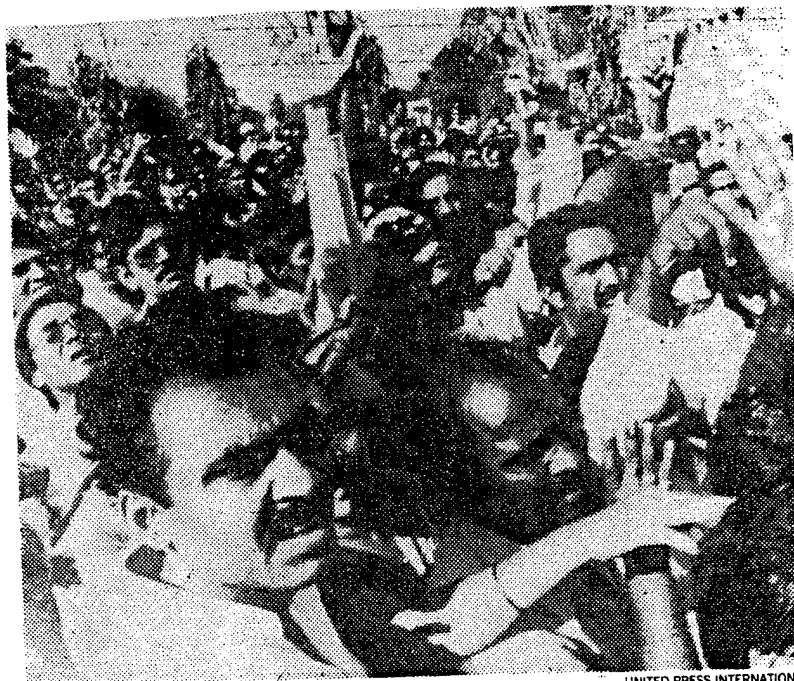
Rajiv Gandhi, who had been on a campaign swing in West Bengal, returned to the capital to view her body at the hospital. Maneka Gandhi, Indira Gandhi's estranged daughter-in-law, also went to the medical center and issued a statement denouncing the assassination.

After Gandhi's death was announced, clashes between Hindus, who form the majority religion in India, and Sikhs, a breakaway Hindu sect making up about 2 percent of the population, broke out in New Delhi and elsewhere.

Outside the hospital in New Delhi, crowds went on a rampage immediately, burning cars and trucks belonging to Sikhs and setting fire to several Sikh temples. One person was killed and several injured. There were other clashes elsewhere in the city, and tonight the government imposed restrictive orders in the capital. Another person was reported killed in Calcutta.

Violence was reported in at least seven states, according to the Press Trust of India, and curfews were imposed in Agartala, capital of northeastern Tripura State, Jammu in northern Jammu and Kashmir State and Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh, the news agency said.

In Bombay, angry crowds shouted anti-Sikh slogans outside a Sikh temple.



UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

Would-be blood donors surge forward following news that Gandhi was shot.

In Kerala, a statewide strike reportedly began as huge crowds took to the streets and blocked trains in the main railway station in Trivandrum, the state capital.

Indian troops throughout the country went on alert, and border patrols were stepped up. Troops moved into Punjab, the nation's breadbasket, its richest state and heartland of the Sikh religion in India.

Today in Punjab, Sikhs angry at attacks against their brethren in other parts of the country attacked Hindus and set Hindu shops and houses on fire.

Army troops also patrolled Agartala, in Tripura State, and Calcutta city tonight after rampaging crowds took to the streets to protest Gandhi's murder, and the Press Trust of India reported that angry crowds forced shops to close in the southern city of Bangalore.

After the Golden Temple incident, threats against the prime minister increased and security around her, her son and other top officials was tightened. A special commando force was set up to guard the country's top leaders.

The prime minister's advisers had counseled her not to include Sikhs in the commando force, but Gandhi vetoed the advice, reportedly saying that she could not afford to be perceived to distrust any particular Indian community.

The two alleged assassins both had the Sikh name of Singh, but the prime minister's press secretary refused to confirm police and other officials' statements that they were Sikhs, apparently in an attempt to curb violence against the Sikh community.

"It is not for me to say if the attackers were Sikhs," H.Y. Sharada Prasad said.

One of the assailants, sub-inspector Beant Singh, had been working on Gandhi's security staff for eight years, and constable Satwant Singh, a young Sikh, reportedly was taken onto the security staff on Beant Singh's recommendation. Beant Singh "used to drive her grandchildren to school every day," said a senior member of Gandhi's household.

Beant Singh, according to police sources, was in the Army before he joined the New Delhi police, and was discharged from the military on disciplinary grounds. "He was never known to have any communal feeling," said one of his colleagues.

One of the two assailants was said by official sources to have been on leave in recent weeks in an area of Punjab that had been a stronghold of extremist Sikh leader Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, who died in the attack on the Golden Temple.

Beant Singh reportedly was originally scheduled for the evening shift, but switched with a colleague

to a morning shift on the plea that he had some personal work to do in the evening. He fired first at Gandhi from his revolver.

The Press Trust of India reported tonight that the entire security contingent at the prime minister's compound was undergoing interrogation about possible links to the killing.

Intelligence sources claimed they had reports of a possible attempt on the prime minister's life and had warned the security staff to have all her appointments for today canceled.

Newspapers quoted a speech Gandhi made in Orissa yesterday as indicating that she had a premonition of her death. Addressing a mammoth public meeting to round off her tour there, Gandhi had said in an emotional tone that even if she died in the service of the nation, she would be proud of it.

"Every drop of my blood, I am sure, will contribute to the growth of this nation and to make it strong and dynamic," Gandhi affirmed.

As Gandhi, wearing an orange sari, emerged from her home into the bright sunshine this morning, one of her bodyguards drew his service revolver and fired at her, according to press secretary Prasad. As she slumped to the ground, another of her guards, opened fire with a Sten submachine gun.

Actor Ustinov, who with an Irish film crew was scheduled to interview her for a television series on world leaders, said "total chaos" followed at the compound, a wooded and fenced complex.

For hours after the assassination, "no one seemed to be in charge," he said, adding that he and the crew were never allowed close to the spot where Gandhi fell and that they were detained until officials satisfied themselves that the assassination had not been recorded or filmed by the crew.

The choice of Rajiv Gandhi to succeed his mother and become India's sixth and youngest prime minister was made by party leaders at a hastily called Cabinet session.

Political analysts said the choice reflected party leaders' hopes that the Gandhi name, and Rajiv Gandhi's reputation for political probity, will carry the Congress-I (for Indira) party to victory in parliamentary elections due in January.

Rajiv Gandhi, an initially reluctant political newcomer, was tapped by his mother four years ago after the death of his younger and more politically seasoned brother Sanjay in an airplane crash. A former airline pilot, he won a parliamentary seat and was one of the secretaries of Congress-I, set up by Gandhi in 1978.

He is the third member of the Nehru family to become prime minister.

Rajiv Gandhi faces pressing challenges in dealing with the resentment of India's Sikhs, which was compounded over the summer by the Army's stay in Punjab and accompanied by reports of military excesses. Sikhs are heavily represented in the Army, where incidents of mutiny were reported in the aftermath of the Golden Temple assault, and also occupy high government positions.

Other possible flash points for India's new leader include the far northeastern state of Assam, where 3,000 to 5,000 people died in massacres in February of last year during electoral clashes between indigenous Hindus and mostly Moslem immigrants from Bangladesh.

Sectarian violence has plagued India since independence in 1947 when the partition of the subcontinent into India and Pakistan led to a vast migration of Hindus, Moslems and Sikhs across both borders and the deaths of at least half a million people in the accompanying violence.

Earlier this year, clashes in Bombay between Hindus, who make up 83 percent of India's population, and Moslems, who make up 11 percent, killed 400 persons.

A desire for more autonomy from central government rule persists in other states, and in the northeast, where the population is ethnically different from the rest of India, insurgents continue their campaign for independence.

Disturbed Areas 'Under Control'

*BK020806 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0730 GMT
2 Nov 84*

[Text] Reports reaching from different parts of the country indicate that the situation in the disturbed areas is now under control. Delhi police say that the situation in Delhi is under control. The entire city, except New Delhi district, is under curfew. Some stray incidents, however, have been reported from trans-Yamuna areas. Troops are patrolling the streets, mostly in trouble-bound areas. Pickets have been posted in the worst-affected areas. Helicopters have been hovering over the city to keep a watch and identify the trouble spots. In some areas, peace committees have been formed.

In Calcutta, life in the city and the surrounding areas is fast returning to normal. All India Radio correspondent reports that buses, trams, trains and other modes of conveyances have started plying. Markets and other commercial establishments have also been opened. The chief secretary, Mr S.V. Krishnan, told our correspondent that all precautionary measures, including the Army patrolling, are continuing in the troubled areas.

The chief minister of Tripura, Mr Nripen Chakraborty, said the situation in the state is now fully under control.

An official spokesman said in Kanpur that the situation in the city has improved. No untoward incident has been reported from any part of Patna today. However, patrolling by the security forces has been intensified.

Report from Ahmadnagar in Maharashtra says that peace is fast returning in the disturbed areas. However, in Himachal Pradesh, curfew in Mandi town has been extended till this evening. All educational institutions in the state have been closed till Monday and indefinite curfew has been clamped in Ujjain at 0600 this morning following mob violence and cases of arson in the town.

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA reports that Raipur city in Madhya Pradesh and the surrounding areas, which were rocked by violence and arson, are limping back to normalcy. No untoward incidents were reported since last night. Indefinite curfew, imposed in Jammu and Udhampur, has been extended to Punch, Rajouri, Sambha, Kathua and Ariasi following reports of violence.

Disturbances Continue

*BK020853 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0830 GMT
2 Nov 84*

[Excerpts] Reports reaching from different parts of the country indicate improvement in the law and order situation. In some places disturbances are reported to be continuing.

In Jammu and Kashmir, indefinite curfew has been imposed at Udhampur, Ariasi, Punch, Rajouri, and Salal project residential areas. In Jammu City curfew is continuing as a precautionary measure. An official spokesman told our Jammu correspondent that the situation is under control except the Salal project residential area where some persons were injured in an incident.

In Indore and Bokaro [in Madhya Pradesh], the Army has been given shoot at sight orders following violent incidents. Curfew which had been imposed yesterday has been extended for an indefinite period in Indore.

52 Killed in Bihar

NC020823 Paris AFP in English 0759 GMT 2 Nov 84

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 2 (AFP) — At least 52 people were today reported killed in Bihar state, bringing the nationwide death toll in the anti-Sikh violence sparked by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's murder by two Sikh bodyguards to about 200.

The PRESS TRUST OF INDIA said the 52 deaths took place in Bokaro, in the northeastern state of Bihar, where police fired on rioters. Security forces there were under orders to shoot on sight anyone committing violence.

PTI said another 50 people were wounded in Bokaro.

Meanwhile in New Delhi, a dozen bodies were found in an express train which arrived from Ludhiana in the predominantly Sikh state of Punjab early today, station officials reported. They gave no further details.

Death Toll Reaches 227

NC021010 Paris AFP in English 1005 GMT 2 Nov 84

[Excerpt] New Delhi, Nov 2 (AFP) — Fresh outbreaks of sectarian violence rocked New Delhi and other Indian towns today as the death toll in the anti-Sikh backlash sparked by the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi soared to 227.

In East Delhi, Hindu mobs defied shoot-on-sight orders and Army and paramilitary troops to set fire to a cinema, police said. They also reported mob violence in two localities in south Delhi.

Police confirmed that 70 people had been killed in the capital since Mrs. Gandhi was gunned down outside her home on Wednesday by two Sikh members of her bodyguard.

Bihar in the north-east, Uttar Pradesh in the north and Madhya Pradesh in central India were reported to be the worst hit among a dozen states reeling under the wave of violence, despite repeated calls by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi over the radio for calm.

The reports said that 92 people had so far been killed in Bihar, with 35 dead in Uttar Pradesh and 30 dead in Madhya Pradesh. Other casualties were reported in the western coastal state of Maharashtra.

The worst incidents occurred in Bihar state, where at least 52 people were killed as Hindus sought to revenge Mrs. Gandhi's murder, the PRESS TRUST OF INDIA (PTI) reported.

The incidents took place in the steel town of Bokaro, PTI said, adding that the state authorities had issued security forces with shoot-on-sight orders to quell further violence. PTI said another 50 people were wounded.

Police Deputy Inspector-General Y.N. Srivastava told PTI that police in Bokaro opened fire on rival Sikh and Hindu mobs, killing one person and injuring two. Riot police were patrolling the streets.

Newspapers earlier reported other slayings in the industrial town of Ranchi as well as Hazaribagh, Arrah and Daltongaj, also in Bihar state.

An indefinite curfew was reportedly imposed on Ujjain in the central Indian state of Madhya Pradesh following a number of cases of arson and looting, while angry mobs violated curfew restrictions in nearby [words indistinct].

Trains arriving here from the Punjab reportedly carried bodies of people believed to have been lynched by crowds en route to the capital for Mrs. Gandhi's funeral tomorrow.

Eye witnesses and railway officials said they saw six bodies lying on New Delhi railway platform.

Other eye witnesses said that as many as 18 bodies were found in a train that ran between two Punjabi towns of Bhatinda and Ferozepur.

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi broadcast repeated radio calls for an end to the orgy of violence, but with little effect.

SOURCE FBIS (South Asia), 5 November 1984, p. E4

PAGES 1

Rajiv Replaces New Delhi Security Chief

NC040715 Paris AFP in English 0659 GMT 4 Nov 84

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 4 (AFP)— Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi today called an emergency Cabinet meeting and sacked the capital's security chief in a new bid to crack down on the sectarian violence which has rocked the city since his mother's assassination on Wednesday.

Mr. Gandhi, who succeeded his mother nine hours after she was killed by two Sikh bodyguards, was to have met with the French Prime Minister Laurent Fabius, one of the many foreign leaders to attend yesterday's state funeral of the slain leader.

But the new prime minister's office said the meeting had been postponed to allow Mr. Gandhi to consult with his Cabinet.

No official reason was given for the Cabinet meeting.

Informed sources said it must be important for Mr. Gandhi to have called off his engagements for the day, including his meeting with Mr. Fabius.

Earlier PRESS TRUST OF INDIA news agency said that Mr. Gandhi had sacked the New Delhi security chief, P.G. Gavai, apparently for failing to prevent the anti-Sikh backlash in the city which followed Mrs. Gandhi's murder.

Latest reports put the number killed in the capital at over 600 out of a national death toll of around 1,100.

Mr. Gavai was replaced by deputy minister for home affairs, Madan Mohan Kishan Wali.

After being sworn in, Mr. Wali said that his first priority was to "restore law and order."

He then held a series of meetings with Army commanders and police officials, official sources said.

Curfews were lifted today from parts of this city of six million people from 9 am (0330 GMT) to 6 pm (1230 GMT), but three of the worst-hit areas in the east, north and west not included, police said.

Fresh violence hit parts of the capital yesterday forcing police to open fire in as many as 10 separate places.

Police confirmed that seven people had been killed in the firing, but other reports put the number who died at 23.

There were no reports of any incidents in the streets of the capital today, but the situation was still tense with little traffic other than the movement of security forces.

Eyewitnesses said that troops were seen patrolling the streets in infantry combat vehicles, which seated up to 12 and were equipped with machine guns and missile firing launchers.

Reports said an estimated 22,000 troops are deployed in New Delhi and that the security forces were protecting around 15,000 people, mostly Sikhs, who were lodged in schools, police stations and Sikh temples.

Over 400 casualties in Capital; Train passengers murdered

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI, November 2.

THERE was no let-up in the wave of murder, arson and loot that has swept large parts of the country since the brutal assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi in New Delhi on Wednesday. The total toll of those who have been killed and seriously injured now runs into several hundreds. In the capital and its suburbs alone the number of the dead is placed well above 400.

The most frightening development in the past 24 hours has been that people travelling by train have been pulled out and murdered. Seventeen persons were, for example, forcibly taken out of the Pink City Express at the Hailey Mandi station in Haryana and killed. Other trains have been similarly hit, the number of fatalities being placed at 43.

The capital and its environs remained by far the worst affected. While the deployment of the CRPF and army with shoot-at-sight restored a measure of order in South Delhi and some other parts of the city proper, trouble spread to the trans-Yamuna and other outlying areas.

Among the states, Bihar accounts for the largest number of casualties 79 followed by 61 in Madhya Pradesh, 49 in Uttar Pradesh, 43 in Haryana, 16 in Jammu and Kashmir, and eight each in West Bengal and Maharashtra.

The army has been called out in 17 towns where violence has erupted.

In U.P. army has been deployed in Kanpur, Shahjahanpur, Allahabad, and Nainital; in Madhya Pradesh in Gwalior, Indore and Sagar; in Bihar in Ranchi, and Bokaro; in West Bengal in Calcutta; in Tripura in Agartala; in Himachal Pradesh in Kangra, Dharamshala and Kulu and as a precautionary measure it has been called out in Jammu, Udhampur and Riasi.

The situation deteriorated in Bihar

today, particularly in Bokaro where several persons were killed in communal clashes.

About a score of towns continued to be under curfew in U.P. and Madhya Pradesh.

Deployment of the Army is being gradually extended to new areas in Delhi with the arrival of more units from the South.

The Army has been deployed in Sahajanpur, Kanpur, Allahabad and Nainital in U.P., Gwalior, Indore and Sagar in Madhya Pradesh, Ranchi and Bokaro in Bihar, Kangra, Kulu and Dharamshala in Himachal Pradesh, Jammu, Udhampur and Riasi in Jammu and Kashmir, Calcutta in West Bengal, and Agartala in Tripura.

The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, today issued orders to the law-enforcement agencies that there should be no let-up in the stern measures adopted to put down lawlessness and restore peace and calm.

Mr Gandhi was constantly in touch throughout the day with the developments in Delhi and elsewhere. He reviewed the situation five times at meetings with senior government officials.

The death toll in the Capital rose to over 250 today as the city continued to be rocked by incidents of looting, violence and arson despite the deployment of troops and imposition of shoot-at-sight orders. Unofficial estimates put the figure at 400.

Throughout the night bands of youths continued to roam the streets in different parts of South, North and West Delhi burning houses, vehicles and establishments owned by the Sikhs. The quiet of the night in South Delhi was shattered by a loud explosion when miscreants set fire to a petrol pump in the Ashram area. Shops were also set ablaze in the Khanna Market, Lodhi Road and Kotla Mubarakpur areas.

Pitched battles were also reported from Roshanara, Basai Darapur, Roop

Nagar, Anand Parbat and Jehangirpuri between the two communities. Firearms were used in all the confrontations. At all these places security forces resorted to firing to disperse the clashing groups.

Officials at the site said that at least four persons were killed and two others injured in the firing by the security forces. There was no immediate estimate of those killed in the clashes, though eye witnesses said that several bodies were carried away.

A mob also raided a colony in South Delhi and set fire to more than 100 houses. Panic-stricken residents scampered out of their homes for safety. The troops were rushed to the trouble torn area.

The situation was particularly grim in the trans-Yamuna area where a mob went on a killing and looting spree. Houses, shops and a cinema hall were set on fire. A large number of persons were reportedly killed but there was no official confirmation. The Police Commissioner Mr S. C. Tandon, and the Lieut.-Governor, Mr P. G. Gavaj visited the area and supervised the law and order situation there.

At one stage, the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, had expressed his desire to visit the riot-torn trans-Yamuna areas but was persuaded to abandon the plan on the advice of the security officials. He, however, made unscheduled appearance on the television twice and appealed to the people to maintain peace at all costs.

The Lieut. Governor, Mr Gavaj, later claimed that the situation in the Capital was "under control" following the deployment of troops. He said that the police had been given firm instructions to deal with rioters and miscreants strictly. A number of preventive arrests were made but the exact figure was not available.

400 FAMILIES RESCUED: The authorities claimed that at least 400 families were rescued by the security forces from the fury of mobs in

different parts of the city. The families were taken away to areas relatively safe.

In Dev Nagar, armed persons fired indiscriminately at passers-by. A number of persons were reported injured. Similar reports came from Bhapa Nagar, Kamala Nagar and Than Singh Nagar.

The violence also filtered into the suburbs where rampaging mobs thronged the railway tracks near Nangloi, Bijwasan, Tughlaqabad and Najafgarh railway stations pulling out Sikhs and assaulting them. The authorities said that while five bodies were recovered from Tughlaqabad, 11 were recovered each from Najafgarh and Nangloi and at least two from the other stations. The local residents of the villages in the vicinity, however, put the toll much higher.

The attack was particularly vicious in Trilokpuri, a trans-Yamuna colony where a mob encircled a section of the colony and subjected it to repeated, gruesome attacks for almost four hours burning houses indiscriminately. The situation was brought under control only when a large contingent of security forces were rushed to the spot. While the official figure of casualties was not available, residents claimed that it could well reach 90.

Till late at night, reports of clashes came from different parts of East Delhi. In Kailash Nagar, a trans-Yamuna colony, there were reports of clashes between two groups in which firearms and country-made bombs were used. There were no immediate figures of casualty available.

The rampaging mobs set fire to a cinema house in Nandnagari and indulged in looting and arson elsewhere.

One body was found lying on the road in Laxminagar.

Late at night, a huge mob gathered in Gautam Nagar, a South Delhi colony. Residents of the

Continued on page 7 column 1

Continued from page 1 column 4

neighbouring colonies made frantic calls to the police for help. Panic prevailed wherever residents were not able to see the security men.

A major fire was reported from Shahpur Jat village at the rear of the Asiad village complex in South Delhi. The fire and smoke could be seen from a distance. In Malaviya Nagar a group of miscreants went around in a taxi threatening people. They escaped before the police could move into action.

Agencies adds: The police fired at four places—Anand-Parbat, Shakurbasti and two other places—to quell rioting mobs.

According to estimates, over 1,500 people were injured in the violence and police firing all over the capital.

Incidents of arson were reported from various parts of Marathwada.

Trucks were set on fire at Dalimb in Osmanabad district, Sangavi in Latur district, Gevrai and Manjar-ambha in Beed district and Jalna and Aurangabad.

Agencies adds: Army has been deployed at 11 sensitive points in the city and 19 villages and towns of Ludhiana district as a precautionary measure.

Incidents of violence and arson broke out in the Rourkela steel city also.

Four houses, three in the Basanti colony area and one in the steel plant site road were set on fire, besides a car and a scooter belonging to a particular community.

In Madras a 40-year-old man was killed and his younger brother injured when the police fired to disperse two clashing groups at Ottivakkam village, near suburban Tiruvanmiyur last night.

According to the police, a clash ensued between two groups watching TV in a shop, resulting in injuries to nine persons, including two women. Police rushed to the spot and after dispersing the crowd, sent the injured to hospital.

Later in the night, police rushed to the place on receipt of information that a group of persons were attacking the local residents. When the police chased them away, the violent mob dragged away with them two persons. When the victims shouted for help, the mob regrouped and began attacking the police with stones, sticks and iron rods. One head constable suffered eye injury and was hospitalised. Two constables suffered minor injuries in the stone-throwing. When the situation was going out of control, the police opened fire in "self-defence".

In India, Memories of 'Trains of Death'

By **BARBARA CROSSETTE**

Special to The New York Times

NEW DELHI, Nov. 2 — On the eve of the funeral of Indira Gandhi, trains have been arriving at Delhi Railway Station from the countryside carrying the battered bodies of slain Sikhs.

The deputy stationmaster at Delhi Railway Station said he had been told by witnesses that some of the Sikhs had been killed by gangs that boarded the trains. Other victims, he said, were apparently killed or wounded first, then thrown onto passing coaches.

Since Thursday, when violence against Sikhs became widespread after Mrs. Gandhi's assassins were identified as Sikhs in her security detail, at least 40 bodies have arrived, station officials said.

This afternoon reporters saw the bodies of 10 Sikh men lying in the aisles and doorways of a local train from Rewari, a town on the border between Haryana and Uttar Pradesh states. The bodies had stab and slash wounds, with most of the victims' faces clubbed beyond recognition.

A few Hindu travelers waiting for other trains glanced idly into the cars, spattered with blood, and walked on.

Tonight the state-run Indian television denied what it termed the "rumors" that slayings had been committed aboard trains.

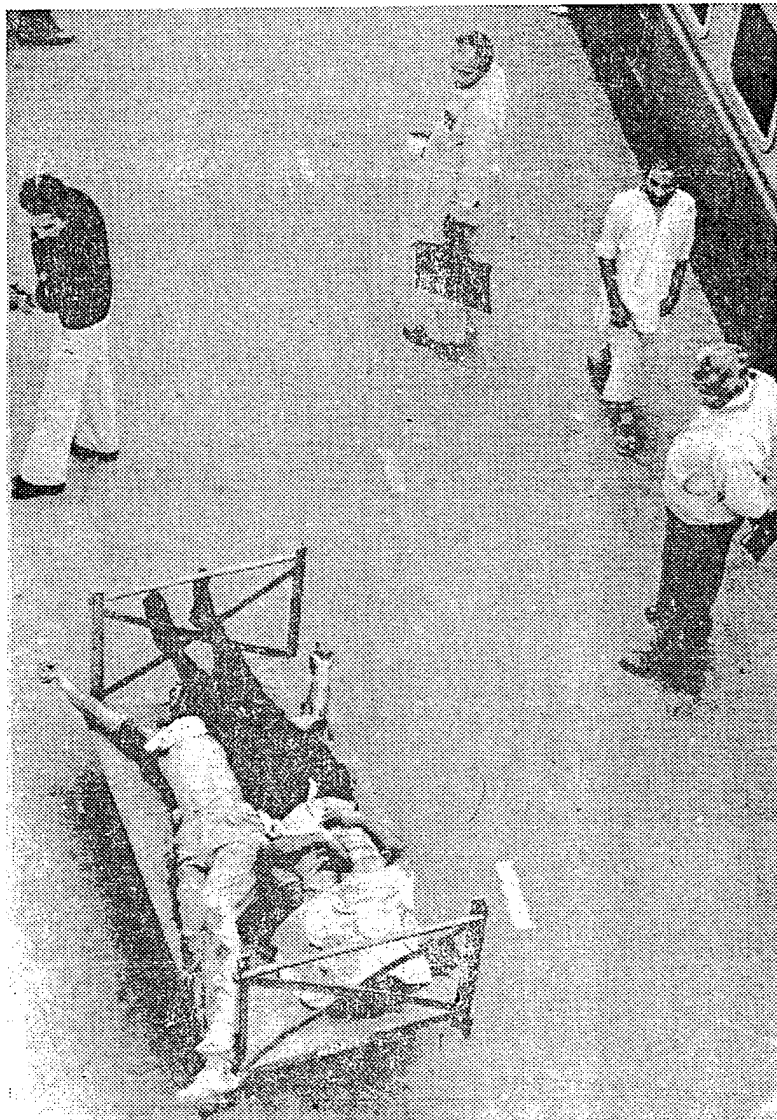
The United News of India news agency said tonight that at least 55 people had been killed on trains bound for the capital. It said 27 people were killed at two stations in Ambala, north of New Delhi in Haryana state. A total of 17 people were reportedly killed on the Pink City Express from Ajmer-Jaipur, 4 on the Bombay-Delhi Rajdhani Express, 4 on the Rajdhani Deluxe and 3 on the Jhelam Express from Jammu.

Many Delhi-bound trains were said to have been canceled or stopped short of the capital after the slayings.

Most of the bodies seen by the reporters at the Delhi station were said to have been aboard trains that passed through Haryana, a state created in 1966 for Hindi speakers, most of whom are Hindus.

For Indians, such scenes are terrifyingly reminiscent of the "trains of death" that rolled through the Punjabi countryside after the partition of India in 1947, when tens of thousands of Moslems, Hindus and Sikhs massa-

Continued on Page 6, Column 3



United Press International

Bodies of Sikhs lie at Delhi Railway Station.

In India, Memories of 'Trains of Death'

Continued From Page 1

cred one another in months of violence.

No Sikhs were visible on the railway platforms; those who had come to the station were hiding under police guard in small waiting rooms. Reporters were not allowed to talk to them.

The slain men were recognizable as Sikhs by their long, top-knotted hair and beards. Turbans had been ripped from their heads. There were no women or children among the bodies.

Body in a Driveway

Outside the station, two more dead men lay in a driveway, covered with a sheet. A protruding arm bore the traditional Sikh steel bracelet.

A "large number" of wounded had been taken away in ambulances, a deputy stationmaster said. Reporters who went to a morgue in northern Delhi today counted 119 bodies, but there was no way to determine how many of these had been brought by trains.

There were no reports of bodies on trains at New Delhi Station today, but on Thursday, passengers on a train from Bombay to New Delhi said they had been stopped at the outskirts of the capital by a mob that boarded the coaches brandishing iron rods, looking for Sikhs. At least 14 people were hospitalized after being beaten.

In the streets of Old and New Delhi today, there was an eerie and startling absence of the familiar turbans of the Sikhs, most of whom come from Punjab, out of which Haryana was created 18 years ago.

New Delhi is also a northern Indian city over which Punjab exerted a

strong influence, largely because of the presence of the tall, turbaned and bearded men who dominated public transportation — as taxi, bus and motorized-rickshaw drivers — and were a major presence in commerce and hotelkeeping. Punjabi farmers brought about India's "green revolution."

Realization of Vulnerability

For some Sikhs, who come from an aggressive warrior tradition, the most frightening thing about the present violence was the realization of their vulnerability. "I have never experienced the receiving end," a Sikh writer said.

Many are arming.

"This is how I have reformed my life," said a middle-aged, scholarly man, pulling a small pistol from his pocket as he and several relatives gathered in the living room of his New Delhi house to plan a strategy of self-defense. "I learned to use it only yesterday."

The telephones in some Sikh homes rang often as family members in the United States and other foreign countries called to ask if everyone was safe. Hindu friends also telephoned or came to visit Sikh families.

'Never Any Trouble'

Pami Singh and his brother Sati live with their families in an apartment complex that has formed a vigilante committee. The committee, made up of Hindus, Moslems and Sikhs, came about after the residents became convinced, they said, that the New Delhi police were not going to protect them. Their compound has been attacked twice in the last 24 hours.

"We've been living together for the past 20 years — Sikhs, Hindus and Moslems — with never any trouble

among us," Pami Singh said. "Hindus here have been more vocal than anyone against the violence."

A young Sikh man recounted today how he had been attacked by a mob as he rode on his motor scooter. He fled to the home of a Hindu friend, he said, who hid him in a water tank on the roof for two hours. When the mob outside retreated, the young Sikh, who kept his head above water by hanging from a pipe, put on his friend's clothes, covered his hair with a helmet and fled home.

Many Hindus and Sikhs who deplore the kind of extremism that apparently led to Mrs. Gandhi's death say much resentment was caused by Sikhs on the day Mrs. Gandhi was killed. They tell, for instance, of taxi drivers who handed out sweetcakes and candies to celebrate the killing of the Prime Minister.

Some See Political Motives

Several Sikhs said today that they were convinced the violence against them was politically rather than religiously or ethnically inspired. Residents of Sujjan Singh Park, a residential complex, said that among the ringleaders of a mob that attacked a gasoline station and taxi stand in their neighborhood Thursday night was a local official of the Congress Party.

Other Sikhs say they are convinced paid mobs of Hindu untouchables, called harijans, are the attackers, again for political purposes. Sikhs are also aware that their obvious prosperity has made them the envy of many poorer Indians.

A Sikh industrialist said: "In a developing society, relations are developing also — the relations between social strata, between the haves and have-nots. We know this. Others do too."

THE RESPONSE OF INDIAN SECURITY FORCES

Army units airlifted to Delhi

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI, November 2: More army contingents are being airlifted from southern parts of India to bring the law and order situation under control in the Capital.

Although the authorities declared around noon yesterday that the army was being deployed, there were just not so many personnel in Delhi Cantonment to be pressed into service to assist the civilian administration.

Most of the army battalions from Delhi had been moved to the sensitive border to carry out army exercises following reports of unusual army concentration across the border. Even in the normal course, the army moves out to the border in November, but the movement took place two weeks earlier this time because of the situation at the border.

As army contingents began arriving today, they were spread out in Delhi in areas badly affected.

A spokesman of the home ministry today told newsmen that the army had been deployed in Delhi Cantonment area, R. K. Puram, Vasant Vihar, Lodi Colony, Nizamuddin, Safdarjung, Sarojini Nagar and Kalkaji, in South Delhi. The army also moved in other areas including Darya Ganj, Hauz Kazi, Karol Bagh, Patel Nagar, and Shahdara.

In Shahdara, a large army contingent was deployed after conditions worsened and some deaths were reported by noon. There were no reports of violence after the army moved in.

The authorities were obviously unprepared for the situation that developed following the assassination of Mrs Gandhi. The home secretary had asked for at least 50 companies from the Border Security Force, but the BSF could spare only 22.

Plea to deploy troops in Delhi

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI, November 3: Opposition groups today asked for the deployment of troops in Delhi "to curb violence with a heavy hand."

Representatives of these parties met here this morning under the presidency of Mr. Charan Singh and adopted a resolution on this issue.

The resolution linked the present situation to what it was in the aftermath of the partition in 1947. They felt that normal administrative and police machinery had totally collapsed.

"We regret to note that neither any curfew was enforced at all nor the army was effectively used. Without giving further expression to our grief we, therefore, urge the government to effectively use the military forces to curb violence and the rule of anarchy with a heavy hand in Delhi and other parts of the country. Nothing less is likely to serve the purpose we all have in view," the resolution said.

The parties represented at the meeting were the CPM, the CPI,

the National Conference, the DMKP, the BJP, the Forward Bloc, the RSP, the Congress(S) and the Rashtriya Sanjay Manch.

The chief minister of Tripura, suggested that Delhi be declared a "disturbed area" and the army given full powers to deal with the situation.

The Janata party has urged the people to set up peace committees comprising Hindus, Sikhs and representatives of the other communities to safeguard the integrity of the country.

Tight security for funeral

From Gur Delhi Office

NOV. 3.—The funeral procession of Mrs Gandhi today bore evidence of the horror stories in the capital.

When the car carrying the Prime Minister left Teen Murti House, it was quickly flanked by a squad of fully-armed commandos. There were security men in several other cars with sten guns.

A helicopter hovered overhead and at the tail of the procession there were truckloads of troops in combat fatigues with machine-guns mounted. And, of course, a large number of armed policeman.

Seven infantry brigades of the Army consisting of 21,000 soldiers and an equal number of supporting troops were deployed in Delhi today to maintain law and order during the funeral, reports UNI.

A large number of infantry combat vehicles, designated BMP-LS which can take 12 troops and have machine-guns and missile firing launchers mounted on them, were kept in readiness to meet any eventuality. These were brought from an armoured division in Madhya Pradesh.

A commando unit was positioned at the cremation site, where a large number of foreign dignitaries and Indian VIPs were present.

Indian Air Force helicopters hovered over the funeral route and kept a constant vigil over the cremation site. Military jeeps with 106-mm recoilless rifles mounted on them criss-crossed the city today to prevent any untoward incident.

Heavy escorts for trains

NEW DELHI, November 3 (UPI). State governments have been asked to provide adequate forces to run trains in view of disturbances in several parts of the country.

According to official sources, it has been decided to run long-distance trains under "heavy escort." Since forces had not been assured by many state governments, several trains were being terminated short of their destinations. Resumption of trains to and from Punjab at night would be possible only after adequate armed forces were made available to escort these, the sources added.

Meanwhile, it was announced that the Punjab Mail would run between Bombay and Delhi from today. The Dadar-Amritsar Express and the Pune-Jammu Tawi Jhelum Express have been cancelled. The superfast Puri-New Delhi Neelachal Express and the Bokaro Steel City-Madras Express were also cancelled today.

PM orders more security forces for Delhi

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI, November 3: The inadequacy of the security forces deployed in the Capital was brought home to the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, when he toured the riot-hit areas in the small hours of the morning. Between 1 a.m. and 4 a.m. he visited about half a dozen trouble spots including some trans-Yamuna colonies.

The Prime Minister ordered the defence and police authorities that this inadequacy should be made

Because of circumstances beyond our control, Sunday Review is not being published in its usual form and size but four of its pages are included in this edition.

up within the shortest possible time.

With army units being air-lifted from the South the position has improved considerably in the last two days. Now that the cremation ceremony is out of the way, it is expected that there will be further improvement in the deployment position.

There are now about 16,000 troops in the Capital besides the BSF and CRPF battalions whose number is said to be less than 50.

Continued on Page 12 Column 7

Rajiv visits riot-hit areas

Continue from page 1 column 8

But on the day the rioting broke out, following the assassination, the army presence in the city was minimal.

Logistics was another problem that has been causing considerable difficulty for the law-enforcement authorities. The number of jeeps and trucks available was far short of requirement. Besides, the telephone system in the Capital being what it is, many outlying thanas failed to contact headquarters when reinforcement was urgently needed.

The Prime Minister directed the defence secretary to arrange for the required number of vehicles to be made available to the law-enforcing forces without any delay. He also made it clear that he would not like to hear again that the important telephone lines are not working.

Mr Gandhi has been in touch with the state governments keeping himself abreast of the situations in different states. He emphasised on the chief ministers that there should be no let-up in the enforcement of order through firm measures. He also made inquiries about their requirements.

The trauma caused by the assassination now passing, the administration is expected to be working on top-gear from tomorrow. Mr Narasimha Rao has been confirmed in his post as home minister and therefore there is not likely to be any taxyty on this score.

Security tightened

NEW DELHI, Nov. 3 (UNI).

Seven infantry brigades of the army consisting of 21,000 soldiers and an equal number of supporting troops were deployed in Delhi today to maintain law and order during the funeral of Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

A large number of infantry combat vehicles designated BMP-LS which can take 12 troops and have machine guns and missile-firing-launchers mounted on them were kept in readiness to meet any eventuality. These were brought from an armoured division in Madhya Pradesh.

A unit of commando troops were positioned at the cremation site where a large number of foreign dignitaries and Indian VIPs were present to witness the last rites of Mrs. Gandhi.

Indian Air Force helicopters hovered over the funeral route and kept a constant vigil over the cremation site.

Military jeeps with 106 mm recoilless rifles mounted on them crisscrossed the city today to prevent any untoward incident.

Crackdown on anti-social elements**Army-police joint
combing in Delhi****Our Staff Reporter**

The army and the Delhi Police have undertaken joint combing operations in the Capital to apprehend anti-social elements who indulged in murder, loot and arson during the past four days.

This was announced by Vice-Chief of the Army Staff Lt General G S Rawat at a press conference in Delhi on Monday.

Lt General Rawat said that the army had been called out in at least six States following the outbreak of communal violence.

As Delhi returned to near-normal, Lt General Rawat said that operation "Internal Security Delhi" was a success and the situation in the Capital was well under control. He also claimed that the Army had brought the situation under control in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir and West Bengal.

Reserve forces have been kept in the Capital to meet any contingency, Lt General Rawat said and added that the Army has taken strong action to control the spread of violence in Delhi.

Delhi General Officer Commanding-in-Chief Major General J S Jamwal said that since the Army had been called out, the jawans had resorted to firing ten times in east, south and central Delhi districts. However, he did not disclose the number of casualties.

Lt Gen Rawat said that initially the Army took over the control of law and order at Teen Murti House on 1 November. It took time to get reinforcement from outside as trouble of such magnitude was not expected in Delhi.

He admitted that large-scale violence rocked Delhi and the situation went almost out of hand. He scotched rumours about the Army's lack of cooperation with the civil authorities. The coordination has been excellent, he said. Gen Rawat, however, admitted that the Army was very "thinly laid out" because of the Capital's size.

Lt General Rawat, who had controlled the Bhiwandi riots in Maharashtra, described rumour about the Army being soft in Delhi as a fabrication. He said the Army never fired in air to scare and it always shot for effect. Initially the GOC was busy with the funeral of Mrs Gandhi. Once it was over, Major General Jamwal diverted his attention to the law and order situation, he added.

Speaking about Punjab, Mr Rawat said the

State was still tense, especially places like Patiala and Batala. The Western Command has made arrangements to send additional force if need be.

Even while the press conference was on, the joint-combing teams in Central Delhi carried out almost a house-to-house search and claimed to have recovered 140 television sets, over 40 sewing machines and other expensive items. The value of recovered looted property has gone up to more than Rs 24 lakh. As many as 344 persons from Central Delhi alone have been arrested for killing, arson and looting.

PTI adds:

General Rawat said Army units all over Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir were in full state of readiness to move into any area. He also said that "full alert and vigil" was also being maintained in the border areas to check any infiltration by extremist elements.



Sikh Army Officer Ponders India's Fate

Military Hero Deplores Violence After Gandhi's Assassination

By JAMES P. STERBA

Special to THE ASIAN WALL STREET JOURNAL

NEW DELHI — They don't teach soldiers to stand at attention the way Lt. Gen. Jagjit Singh Aurora did on that sunny December afternoon at the Dhaka racing grounds 13 years ago.

There, with his turban-topped head tilted back and his salt-and-pepper beard jutting straight ahead, he accepted the surrender of Pakistani Gen. A.A.K. Niazi: first his pistol, then his sword, then half his country. Gen. Aurora led a Patonesque blitzkrieg, humiliating his rivals, mid-wiving the new nation of Bangladesh, and tweaking the nose of the U.S., which had "tilted" in favor of Pakistan. He was the pride of India.

Now he sits in pajamas and slippers behind half-drawn living-room curtains in a New Delhi suburb that is half ashes, just another Sikh concerned about the safety of his family and his neighbors, the fate of the religious sect to which he belongs and the direction of an India that seems, in his pessimistic moments, to be as fractious as the Pakistan he helped cleave into two separate nations.

Religious Intolerance

Gen. Aurora, 68 years old and retired, is one of the few prominent Sikhs speaking out against the sectarian violence and agitation that has followed the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi last Wednesday. He also rails against the central-government politicians loyal to the late prime minister. He says they have fanned the fires of religious intolerance for political gain.

The two Sikh bodyguards who assassinated Mrs. Gandhi were "damned fools," he says, as are the militant Sikhs calling for creation of a separate state.

"Our destiny lies with India," he says, "but I think India has learned all the wrong lessons of democracy."

"Politicians have allowed this communal agitation to be aroused to a frenzy and this is being done for political gain," he says. "But now it has become a question of whether it is advantageous or disadvantageous to the fiber of the country."

Sikhs, who account for only about 2% of the Indian population, are hardly a threat to the Hindu majority, which comprises about 83%, he says. But "for three years, every step of this government has been to make the Sikhs more and more alienated," the general says.

Nine relatives and friends have taken refuge in his home. They stay in a bedroom with blinds drawn most of the time. Even though New Delhi seems to be returning to normal, tensions remain high, army troops remain on patrol and a nighttime curfew remains in effect.

At least 20 homes in Gen. Aurora's upper-middle class subdivision were set ablaze following the assassination. The Sikh family across the street was burned out.

"People spread rumors that they were having a party and had opened up champagne to celebrate her death," he says. Militant Sikhs had vowed to kill Mrs. Gandhi after she ordered troops to storm their holiest temple in Amritsar. "But I know this family — nobody drinks."

As Sikh temples and shops burned in surrounding neighborhoods the day after the assassination, the general faced a problem. His family was safe, temporarily, but the mobs were moving closer, and he was supposed to be attending an emergency meeting downtown with President Zail Singh to urge action to stop the violence.

Joined Convoy

"I was very keen to keep my date with the president," he says, "so I asked my driver to recky (reconnaissance) a route." They set off but quickly came upon another mob. "I realized that, if we stopped, I'd had it." At that point, some other cars came by in a convoy, and he joined them and plunged through.

One mob got close to his house, but by then an army officer came by and posted a soldier in front with a machine gun.

As he shared tea with visiting journalists, the general's telephone rang constantly.

"J.J.," his wife Buntly interrupted: "The man calling says they killed them all in Pashkin Vihar, every man, woman and child."

The general sipped his tea and rubbed his eyes.

He worries about India's new prime minister, Rajiv Gandhi.

"I'm afraid his foray into politics so far has left me unimpressed," he says. "I don't want to criticize him. He's young and inexperienced." But, he says, the ruling Congress I Party has become corrupt, has allowed the police to become corrupt and is threatening to politicize the army.

Army withdrawn from two areas

By a Staff Reporter

THE Army, which had been called in to assist the civil administration on October 31 in curbing violence following Mrs Gandhi's assassination, was withdrawn from the Manicktala and Cossipore thana areas in Calcutta on Sunday. Army jawans, however, continued to patrol Bhowanipore, Ekbalpore and Burrabazar during the day. According to the police, patrolling will continue in these areas for a few more days.

No untoward incident was reported from any part of the city on Sunday.

PTI and UNI add: With complete normality prevailing in most of the riot-hit States, the authorities on Sunday decided to reopen educational institutions from Monday, after a break of about 12 days. Delhi University and its affiliated colleges, however, would re-

open on Tuesday, the authorities said.

In the capital, about 80% of an estimated 30,000 victims left for their homes, administration sources said.

In Haryana and in the Union Territory of Chandigarh all schools, colleges and Punjab University will reopen on Monday. However, in some towns of Punjab, educational institutions will remain closed for varying periods.

The night curfew imposed in Indore was lifted on Saturday night as the situation was officially stated to be normal.

In Kanpur, one of the worst affected cities, the authorities have relaxed curfew hours and it will be in force from 11 p.m. to 5 a.m. Special services by various churches and peace marches were also organized in the city.

Curfew in Jammu city was completely lifted on Sunday after 11

days, according to an official announcement.

A 25-member delegation of the Shiromani Akali Dal (Master Tara Singh) on Sunday called on the Lt-Governor of Delhi, Mr M. M. K. Wali, and demanded setting up of Army posts in the riot-affected areas.

Briefing reporters after the meeting, Mr Rachhpal Singh president of the Dal, said he had also spoken to President Zail Singh over the telephone and drawn his attention to the mounting tension in Maharashtra. The President, he said, assured him that action would be taken to defuse the tension there.

Mr Rachhpal Singh said the Finance Minister, Mr Pranab Mukherjee, assured him on Sunday that a "clean loan" of up to Rs 1 crore would be given to those whose property was damaged or destroyed in the recent riots.

Army to stay in Delhi as long as needed

Our Staff Reporter

General Officer Commanding, Delhi area, Major General J S Jamwal, said on Saturday that the situation in the Capital was fully under control now and the Army would remain in Delhi only as long as the civil authorities wanted it.

Speaking to newsmen about the Army's task code-named "Operation Shanti", he said that it was up to the civil authorities to decide on lifting the curfew in East Delhi where it now remained in force.

Maj Gen Jamwal said that so far over 2,900 persons had been arrested for violating the curfew and 700 vehicles impounded. The latest arrests were on Friday when nine persons were arrested and two vehicles impounded. About seven people were killed in the army firing and another 10 injured, he added.

Besides the task of bringing about peace, the Army was also involved in providing relief and medical aid and rescuing people from various homes and taking them to relief camps and gurdwaras.

Delhi, for the "Operation Shanti" period, had been divided into six sectors corresponding to the police districts and when the Army on standby since 31 October, was called in on 1 November afternoon—completed the deployment by afternoon of 2 November. In East Delhi the last troops took up position.

Ban at cinema: Meanwhile, Police commissioner S S Jog reimposed a ban on the carrying of boxes, bags, vanity cases in cinema theatre or other public buildings for a period of two months.

The reason behind the calm in Punjab

From Our Special Representative

CHANDIGARH, Nov. 6.—The backroom boys of the Punjab Government made a herculean effort to prevent the tide of events that shook the country after Indira Gandhi's assassination from further affecting the State, which has already gone through the trauma of terror and violence.

It is a story worth telling because these officials have been sincere in their efforts to save Punjab. They have mixed devotion and hard work with scientific management practices and have, at the same time, been praying and keeping their fingers crossed. For them, it has been an hour-to-hour, minute-to-minute, nerve-shattering schedule through which they have kept their cool. So far they have been lucky and have achieved what once looked almost impossible.

Punjab was quiet and peaceful during those days when a large part of the country was passing through hell. An achievement indeed.

"I have been praying and working to keep peace in Punjab which I feel has been so much of suffering already", says Mr R. V. Subramanian, senior advisor to the Punjab Governor. He does not understand why people behaved in the way they did. He was largely responsible for the "crisis management" evident from October 31.

Nobody knows about the future. There have been some small, stray incidents which were reported as part of the terrorist activity even before October 31. But the State Government's strategy has been quick and effective and may serve as a model.

Mr Subramanian was in Delhi on October 31. He rang up Mr N. N. Vohra, Home Secretary of Punjab, a little after 10 a.m. about the attack on the Prime Minister. By 2 p.m., all deputy commissioners and police chiefs had been contacted and briefed. By 3.30 p.m., security operations were under way. The presence of security forces by way of patrolling, new pickets and column marches was manifest almost all over the State the same day. Reinforcements of security forces, including the Army, arrived next day. Today, the security forces cover all of Punjab. Pickets are posted, intensive patrolling is done and reserves are in position at central points.

The deputy commissioners were given a major and responsible role. They were authorized to take preventive action, impose curfew, call out the Army or take any other steps according to the need, without waiting for clearance from the State headquarters. At the same time, the Home Department maintained 24-hour contact with them, Mr Vohra, himself, keeping in touch with them on an hour-to-hour basis and getting the feedback, not only about any incidents but even about the mood at a place or the people.

Amritsar was connected with the Secretariat through a hot line and Chandigarh, in turn, was connected with the Cabinet Secretariat in Delhi through another hot line. Decisions were taken in minutes. Mr Subramanian is all praise for the officers in the field and in the Secretariat.

Round-the-clock monitoring, and four to five meetings among the concerned officials during the day, enabled them to take decisions and quickly implement them without going through the usual red tape. Take, for instance, yesterday's meeting where the revival of the Shri-Punjab train between Delhi and Amritsar was discussed. It could mean some of the victims of Delhi's riots coming to Punjab. Immediately, the Delhi authorities were contacted and urged to meet such persons at the railway station and see if they could be assisted there.

The deputy commissioners in Punjab were asked to send their boys to the railway stations on the way and provide all possible help. Passengers were to be offered transport or any other assistance they needed as a sort of "healing touch". The authorities were worried about the first train from Delhi but it arrived without mishap.

The State administration had been keeping track of those coming from neighbouring States, affected by violence, and offering them all possible help. On such family from Mandi arrived at Anandpur Sahib and appreciated the gesture. There was also a truck operator who came from Kapurthala and received similar treatment. These are small things but can go a long way in healing wounds.

The State authorities have to keep constant watch because even after things have quietened down

in other States, Punjab will continue to be vulnerable. The danger will increase as more and more people from outside come into contact with those in the State.

Media management, an unpleasant task, was considered a necessity. Reports of incidents in other States could lead to a chain reaction in Punjab; fearing this, the State authorities moved swiftly. They decided to recommend pre-censorship of Chandigarh newspapers, strengthen pre-censorship of papers in Punjab and stop papers from Delhi entering Punjab about midday. The same evening, the censor machinery was in position and five Punjab Civil Service officers were deputed for censor duties at Jalandhar, while Mr H. V. Krishnamurthy, the Information Secretary, personally supervised it at Chandigarh.

News about violence in Delhi and elsewhere could not be blocked completely because people had heard of it from foreign radio broadcasts. Still, the authorities felt that it was less inflammatory if it came gradually and in bits, and not in a flood of headlined reports as the newspapers would have presented it.

Mr Subramanian summed up the strategy as a decision to be firm in case of tension, scotching rumours, removal of any public grievances, and freedom to district administrations to use force promptly in case trouble erupted. The district authorities were given powers on the very first day to order the police to shoot at sight in case of violence. Peace committees have been revived, rural defence bodies formed, preventive arrests made without discrimination, and police control rooms streamlined.

He said that the administration was getting cooperation from ordinary people. The Punjab public wants peace and the administration will ensure it, the Governor, Mr Satarawala, himself a management man, has told the people. He occasionally has a word of praise for some officer, in the Secretariat or in the districts, and it has done wonders for their morale.

CONTROVERSIES SURROUNDING INTELLIGENCE AND VIP SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS

How the clamp around the PM became a sieve

The sign on the road read, "Men at work. Road closed." While there was no sign of any work in progress, the entry to Safdarjung Road housing the Prime Minister's residence was blocked with this board soon after the army entry into the Golden Temple in June this year.

Sten gun wielding uniformed men stood at a distance of 10 metres at the perimeter of the house which had been screened off with a wooden grill. Nearly 150 guards recruited from the second battalion of the Delhi Armed Police had been specially grilled through the intensive weapon training course to man the Prime Minister's security at the outer cordon within her residence.

Behind each of the two posts of the main entrance, which had been changed to iron gates some years ago, crouched a commando of the Indo-Tibetan Border Police. The ITBP men, originally trained for the borders as the name implies, were inducted into the Prime Minister's security because of their dual specialisation—sharp-shooting and unarmed combat.

Plainclothes men with .38 revolvers and others with 9 mm pistols took charge of the inner cordon. No uniformed men were allowed here. The final cordon comprised of the ring around Mrs Gandhi herself with about six plainclothes security men positioned at strategic points around her so as to ward off any attack.

All approach roads had been given new reinforced watchposts—Race Course Road, at the junction between Aurangzeb Road and Safdarjung Road, the Gol Methi Chowk. All pickets had been equipped with wireless sets and Jongs. Further pickets were also set up along Krishna Menon Marg, Rajaji Marg, Teen Murti Marg, thereby covering all roads converging at the residence. The main emphasis of creating the outposts was to ward off intruders even before they were anywhere near 1, Safdarjung Road.

New blood

Mr Subash Tandon, commissioner, Delhi Police, who took charge on April 28, 1983 had personally supervised a total "blood transfusion" of the PM's security set-up. Having come directly from the Intelligence Bureau (security wing), he was considered to be ideally suited for supervising the security arrangement—even more so as he was personally acquainted with Mrs Indira Gandhi. He had replaced all the older complacent security guards with, smarter, younger and more alert officers. The more ponderous personal security officers like Mr Baldev Rai Dutt were replaced by dynamic new blood like Mr Dinesh Bhatt.

Between 500 to 600 men used to be on a round-the-clock vigil to ensure Mrs Gandhi's safety. Whereas the uniformed men of the Delhi Armed Police rotated duty in three shifts, those in plainclothes did four shifts. One inspector was on duty all 24 hours in duties of six hours each and one assistant commissioner of police was also always present in eight hourly shifts. The deputy commissioner was not obliged to be present at all times but he was responsible for all the actions and activities of his men. It was also ensured that at least one gazetted officer would be available on the premises at all times.

Besides these people, three personal security officers—Mr Dinesh Bhatt, Mr B.K. Mehta and Mr Ram Swaroop Sharma—were to be at the side of Mrs Gandhi all the time.

Pressures from above

And yet when it mattered it all came to naught. How did this happen? For one, in spite of all the tightening of vigilance, her own men were considered above suspicion. Immediately after the Golden Temple entry the duties of Sikh security men—a dozen of the whole in her personnel—had been 'adjusted' in such a manner that they did not come into direct contact with her at

all. They would deliberately be placed on routes that she was not covering during the day. But barely 10 days later, when this came to her notice, (after some pressure had been exerted by the affected Sikhs including Beant Singh on an extremely senior official around Mrs Gandhi) they were reverted to their original positions. Mrs Gandhi, who was known to be taking personal interest in all matters related to Punjab and Sikhs then, is on record as saying, "How can we claim to be secular if we remove Sikhs from the security?"

That Mr Subhash Tandon tried his best to tighten security is not refuted. His over-

zealous direct recruitment of young blood for the PM's security from police stations drew a lot of protest from the districts who were deprived of their best men. But their protests were overruled. At his instance, a commando force was raised in the Delhi Police of which a few men were also deployed in the Prime Minister's service.

Even more important was the decision to initiate firing practice for all PM's guards every morning under the supervision of DCP (security), Mr Ajay Aggarwal, after the threat to her life had begun to loom large.

Security district

VIP security, historically, according to Delhi Police officials, has never been considered by them as an important or vital duty. "It was more a platform to gain the patronage of the VIP concerned," they say.

In the early post-independence period, the post was created of the superintendent of police (security) in charge of the security of not merely Pandit Nehru but also all other VIPs.

The post was later changed to that of a deputy commissioner, police (security) when the commissioner system was introduced in the Delhi Police in 1978. But this was also not to be for long. During the tenure of Mr V.N. Singh, DCP (security) in February 1982 a special district was created for the PM's security.

Christened the "special security district," it was solely responsible for the Prime Minister's security within the residence, at her office at 1 Akbar Road and in the zone between her residence and her offices at South Block and Parliament House. The district operates purely under the directions of the Intelligence Bureau.

The arrangements for public functions and areas falling outside the zone were still the responsibility of the DCP (Security). Soon after the formation of the special security district Mr Gopi Ram Gupta was made the DC of the special district. Before that Mr Singh had held dual charge of DCP security and special security district for nearly five months.

The main purpose of this district, which was formed upon the recommendation of a high powered committee headed by Mr R.N. Kao, was to check the increasing incidence of unannounced demonstrations reaching the gates of 1 Safdarjung Road and posing serious security hazards. With the formation of the district all entry points to the residence were checked at a considerable distance away from it and likely security threats were warded off.

Little screening

However, if one reason has to be singled out for the catastrophe it would be the slackness in the screening of her securitymen. The setup might change now but till the other day there was no special mandatory requirement for a man to qualify for the PM's security setup. There used to be minimal initial screenings and all Delhi Armed Police guards having passed the intensified

weapons training course stood equal chance of being transferred to 1, Safdarjung Road.

What is worse, they were rotated periodically making their scrutiny by the special branch and the IB even more difficult. It was thus that several suspicious moves by both Satwant and Beant Singh went unnoticed: that Satwant returned from leave to the Punjab in a private taxi, that he had been eating outside the mess, that Beant had been voluble in his opposition to the army operation in Punjab, among others.

While the more concerned among the higherups in the security agencies are likely to review this and other serious lapses, the excuse seekers are engaged in a debate on trivia. The dispute is whether the TMC gate, which falls on the perimeter of 1, Safdarjung Road but is deep inside the PM's residence complex taking 1, Akbar Road into account, falls inside the outer cordon (where uniformed DAP men are allowed) or the inner cordon (where they are not.)

Beant Singh, with his .38 revolver had been doing duty at the gate for some time now and having served in the PM's security for four years was one of Mrs Gandhi's 'showpiece' Sikh guards. His duty at the TMC gate was to check the credentials of entrants from that point and prevent unauthorised persons from going through. On October 31 Satwant Singh joined him at the observation post to help him out. It was their discretion to decide whether a person was safe or not—and they exercised their discretion to deadly effect.

Security adviser to P.M. quits

From Our Delhi Office

NOV. 7.—Marking the end of an epoch in Indian intelligence gathering, Mr Rameshwar Nath Kao (70), Security Adviser to the Prime Minister, resigned today. A member of his family said, "He has put in his resignation."

Other sweeping changes in the intelligence set-up included the transfer of Mr R. K. Kapoor, Director, Intelligence Bureau, and his replacement by Mr H. D. Barari on promotion and the transfer of Mr Rattan Sehgal, Deputy Director, VIP Security. Mr Gautam Kaul, Additional Commissioner (New Delhi Range) will take over from Mr Sehgal.

MANY YEARS

Mr Kao had for many years been the Director of the Research and Analysis Wing and later, the Secretary in the Cabinet Secretariat. Described as a close friend of Indira Gandhi and her family,

he was appointed Security Adviser to coordinate the activities of various intelligence agencies.

Speculation about Mr Kao's resignation appeared to have been set at rest by the choice of the Special Frontier Force—a crack force of guerrillas virtually raised by him—to take charge of Mr Rajiv Gandhi's security.

Mr R. K. Kapoor, Director of the Intelligence Bureau, has been asked to revert to his home cadre, Uttar Pradesh. Mr Kapoor, an IPS officer of the 1950 batch, had been with the I.B. almost all through his career.

He has been replaced by Mr Barari, till now Additional Director in the I.B. and son-in-law of late Bhola Nath Malik, Director of the I.B. in the 1950s and 60s.

PLACE

To take Mr Barari's place, Mr M. K. Narayanan, till now Joint Director in the I.B. and an officer of the 1955 batch of the IPS

from the Tamil Nadu cadre, has been promoted.

In what was, perhaps, the most expected change, Mr Rattan Sehgal, who had been the Deputy Director (V.S.), was asked to revert to his home cadre, Madhya Pradesh. His replacement by Mr Gautam Kaul, was, however, a bit of a surprise.

Mr Kaul had taken over as the Additional Commissioner in the Delhi police only three months ago on promotion. Mr Kaul is the son of Mrs Sheila Kaul, Minister of State for Education, and is related to the Prime Minister.

Mr Maxwell Pereira was appointed Deputy Commissioner of the Special Security District, the department which handles the security of the Prime Minister. Mr Pereira, who was the Additional Deputy Commissioner, North District, takes over from Mr G. Gupta who was placed under suspension on Tuesday.

Mrs Gandhi's supersleuth

That heads would roll was definite. But one man who seemed to have reached a pinnacle beyond anybody's reach was Mr R.N. Kao, Mrs Indira Gandhi's supersleuth.

But on Wednesday morning, a tired 74-year-old Kao, having served the Indian intelligence for over 40 years, submitted his resignation.

It is still unclear whether he gave in his papers voluntarily or whether he was asked to resign by the son of the lady he had served for the better half of his life. But being the enigma that he is, even his worst critics prefer to believe that he opted to resign.

Mr Kao was in Beijing on the day of the assassination. He rushed back only to find that Mrs Gandhi was no more. With all the feathers on his cap for intelligence coups, the father of the Research and Analysis Wing and one of the senior-most officials of the Intelligence Bureau could not spot an assassination plot being hatched under his very nose.

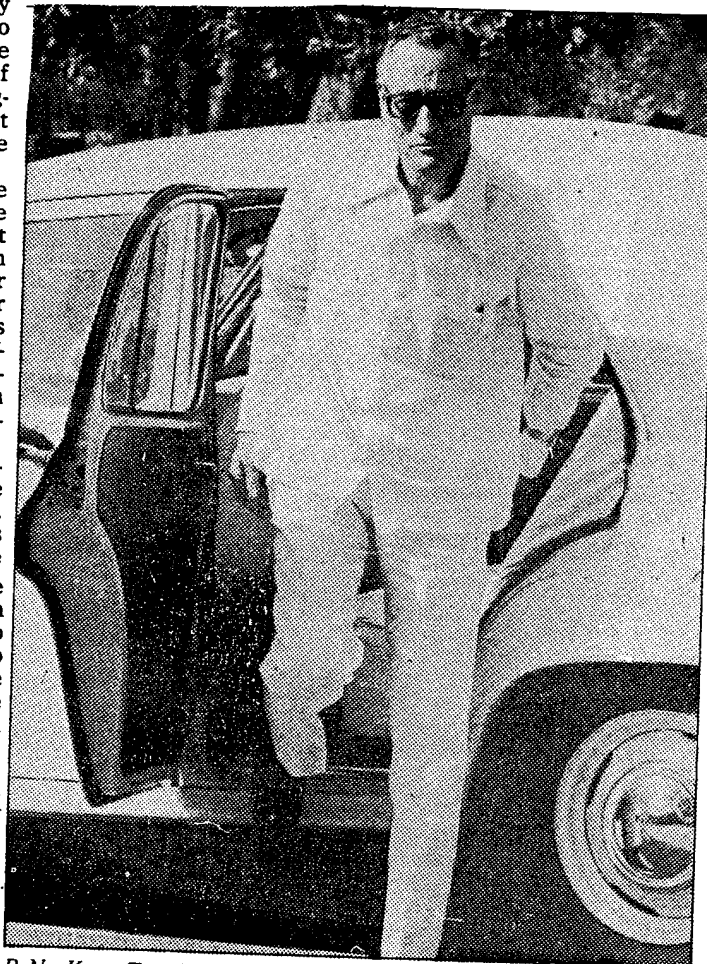
Mr Ram Nath Kao was recruited into the Indian Police in the days of the British Raj. Having completed his masters at Allahabad University he joined the Uttar Pradesh cadre in 1940. After a short stint in his parent state, he moved to Delhi and was absorbed into the Intelligence Bureau, where for years he remained the blue eyed boy of Mr Bhola Nath Mullick, the then IB chief.

Always known to be "good raw material," Mr Kao shot into the limelight (in the world of the supersleuths) with his investigation of the crash of the "Kashmir Princess" — the princess being the Air-India flight from Hong Kong to Indonesia which crashed into the sea just short of its destination. The plane was to have carried the Chinese premier, Chou En-lai, who had gone to Hong Kong to attend the famous Bandung conference where the theory of Panchsheel was initiated.

An internal missile had been planted in the aircraft and a last minute tip to the Chinese premier had saved his life. The blast occurred as scheduled, but instead of the targeted man hundreds of innocent victims died in the ill-fated flight.

Since the plot was hatched on the Air-India fleet, the government of India played an active role in the investigations — and Mr R.N. Kao, then

As long as the Congress(I) was in power, he never looked back. He quickly scaled the ranks and was the head of the external affairs wing of the Intelligence Bureau when in 1968 it was decided to create a new autonomous agency — the Research and Analysis Wing, better known by its abbreviation, RAW.



R.N. Kao: Too honourable to stay on. Pic: Sondeep Shankar

assistant director, was assigned to go into the matter. The investigation, according to people close to Mr Kao, proved to be the take off point in Mr Kao's career.

The decision to create this new all powerful agency to look after all foreign espionage and international intelligence matters had seen a massive clash of opinion among the high level government officials.

But RAW was destined to be and the IB had been stripped off its most important function.

Mr Ram Nath Kao, who was then said to be "undisputably the best suited for the post," took the agency from its infant days to a more mature age till 1977 when the Congress(I) was toppled. The new Janata government headed by Mr Morarji Desai dismantled the entire

show and sent Mr Kao to the barracks with the allegation that RAW had been used for electoral purposes by Mrs Gandhi's government.

But Mrs Gandhi was to make a comeback and so too her trusted lieutenant. Soon after her re-election in 1980, RAW picked up its strings again but this time Mr Kao took a back seat and was appointed security advisor to the Prime Minister.

He then reached the zenith of his career and was also appointed chairman of the senior intelligence board comprising the chiefs of RAW, IB, military intelligence and the two chairmen of the joint intelligence committee—internal and external. In private conversation, Mr Kao was known to believe that he had crossed his prime, but in effect he remained the supremo of Indian intelligence.

Yet, today even as no finger can point to him directly, he has bowed out silently. As one senior officer pointed out: "In our days this was a prestige matter. Even Lal Bahadur Shastri resigned as railway minister for a small rail accident. Today, the home ministry is unrattled."

Vaidya tells troops to fight divisive forces

From Our Correspondent

New Delhi, Nov. 7: General A.S. Vaidya, Chief of the Army Staff, in a personal message to the troops, has called upon them to fight the strains and pressures of divisive forces with steadfastness and in the true traditions of the Indian Army.

The following is the full text of his message:

"Officers, JCOS and soldiers of the Army, I address you again today in a time of crisis, a time of strain and pressures, a time which poses a threat to our national integrity and unity.

"Whatever be the circumstances, the strains and pressures of divisive forces, the Army is one united organisation in which everyone has taken an oath of loyalty to serve the nation even unto death. Each one of you is as precious as the other regardless of rank, religion or the state from which he hails because he is an Indian and I hold every disciplined Indian in high regard. Those who are ready to shed blood for preserving the unity of the nation I hold in the highest regard. I therefore, look upon you with

pride and respect.

"Let not any event or anybody play on your emotions and mislead you into taking a wrong path which eventually will benefit not us, not our country but only our enemies. The dastardly act on the morning of 31 October and its aftermath are both reprehensible and acts which are done when the human mind reaches its lowest ebb.

"I call upon all of you to rise above these black shadows of despondency and anguish. I look upon you to be steadfast and true to the flag and traditions of the Army. I want you to give strength to this nation and even from ashes of many fires rise and make the future of country bright by your hard work, loyalty and valour."

Fatal Failure Of P.M.'s Security

By N. S. SAKSENA

MR. J. N. Chaturvedi, the director-general of police, U.P., conceived the idea of starting a week's refresher course for officers of the rank of superintendents of police. This course was organised at the Police Training College, Moradabad. The first course was in the first week of July and the second in the third week of October, 1984—only 12 days before the Prime Minister's assassination. One of the several people invited to deliver talks was myself and I gladly accepted the invitation because I have been principal of this police training college twice.

I was given a list of subjects and on both these occasions one subject selected by me was the Prime Minister's security.

Another subject selected by me was "organised violence". The detailed mechanics of protecting a VIP like the Prime Minister are laid down in a secret booklet, which is a document, which must be compiled with both in letter and spirit, and every superintendent of police knows that violation of this code means disciplinary action. The anticipated punishment being dismissal from service.

So the personal stakes for a police officer are exceedingly high, apart from his clear patriotic duty to ensure that his country's history is not changed by an assassin's bullets. As policemen in a democracy, it is their bounden duty to see that one assassin does not cancel the verdict of the electorate. In the U.S. a situation arose when the electorate could not vote a Kennedy to office because the third brother could not take a chance after two brothers were killed. This meant that a few conspirators could force the electorate to exclude someone from the race from presidentship.

Change In Destiny

In my talk I dealt with the fact that assassinations have changed world history. The following examples were quoted — the murder of Archduke Ferdinand of Austria on June 1914 led to the First World War; the shooting of Lenin on August 30, 1918 hastened his death on January 21, 1924; if Lenin had lived for 10 years more there would have been no Stalin's rule; the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi on January 30, 1948, of U. Aungsen of Burma in July 1947, of Liaquat Ali Khan of Pakistan on October 16, 1951, of Bandaranaike on September 25, 1959, of President Kennedy on November 22, 1963 and of Robert Kennedy, the presidential candidate in 1968. These eight examples were enough to show that the destiny of nations has been changed and can be changed by the assassination of the supreme leader of the nation.

In a dictatorship it is possible to avoid the risks by stricter security measures. Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini, General Franco, Mao-zedong, Zhou-En-Lai and the military dictators in Pakistan lived safely as long as they were in power.

The difficulty arises in democracies because the power of the leader depends upon his or her communication with the masses. That is why the task of VIP security in India and in the U.S. is much more difficult than elsewhere in the world. It is a tribute to the then police

force of India (this force died of slow cancerous growth in the last few years — the cancer has been the growing political motivation) that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was Prime Minister for 17 years and in spite of his extensive tours and close contact with the masses he died safely in his bed. A still greater tribute has to be paid to the French secret service, which saved Gen. de Gaulle from as many as 17 attempts at assassination.

Free access of the masses to the VIP is possible only upto a certain extent. The real task is to ensure good security, without imposing restrictions, which make the VIP almost a prisoner of the security staff. The correct balance has been struck in the instructions issued by the intelligence bureau and these are as model as any human instructions can be. If the Prime Minister has been assassinated the fault lies with those who failed to implement these instructions.

Some Questions

My most shocking experience was during last half an hour of the talk (both in July and October) which was devoted to questions and answers. I reproduce a few questions, which were asked by senior field officers — all of the rank of superintendents of police. Naturally I cannot recall the exact words or sequence:

(I) The total Congress leaders, including a senior minister, arranged for a notorious gang leader, accused in murder cases, to garland the VIP and go to sit on the dais.

(II) At small functions for the VVIP notorious smugglers and criminals are invited. What happens if some foreign agency bribes them?

(III) There is a strict limit to the number of persons, who can sit on the dais. What happens if two rival politicians insist on sitting on the dais and the senior civil officers are of the opinion that both should be accommodated to avoid an ugly confrontation? These senior civil officers can mar the career of the superintendent of police.

(IV) State VIPs often insist on standing so close to the coming plane carrying the VVIP that there is a risk to the plane as well as to the state VIPs. There is an unseemly race as to who catches the eye of the VVIP first and who garlands him first. This happened on numerous occasions with VVIPs other than the PM.

(V) Local leaders hastily collect a crowd on the wayside — it is not possible to check their antecedents quickly. They insist on stopping the VVIP to boost their own image among their voters.

It is not necessary to reproduce the answers, which I gave because there are clear instructions on all these. I have no doubt that a good few police officers make dangerous compromises, because, according to their calculations, the risk of their dismissal for failure is not more than one per cent, while their being disgraced for doing their duty strictly is over 50 per cent.

The danger to the new P.M. and a few other VVIPs (like the President) is no less than it was to Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The rolling of heads is necessary only upto a limited extent. The more important task is to change the total atmosphere in which duties of security and law and order are being performed.

SECURITY WAS TOO CASUAL

From Our Delhi Office

NOV. 5.—Inquiries conducted by The Statesman have revealed a casual attitude on the part of those responsible for Indira Gandhi's safety

It has come to light now that Inspector Yogender Mani of the 2nd Battalion of the Delhi Armed Police and the seniormost non-gazetted officer, under whom served constable Satwant Singh, one of Indira Gandhi's killers, had reported in writing well before the assassination to Mr R. K. Sharma, Deputy Commissioner of the battalion, that Satwant Singh was unfit for guard duty at the Prime Minister's house. Satwant Singh, who was injured, is in hospital.

Mr Sharma, who in 1979 had been acquitted along with Mr P. S. Bhinder, Mr Gurcharan Singh and others of charges of murder and criminal conspiracy in the

Sunder dacoit case, took no action. He just filed the inspector's report.

Inquiries at the Ashoka Security Police Lines, where sub-inspector Beant Singh, the other assassin who was killed, stayed, showed that he had been very agitated over the Army action in the Golden Temple. He had told several of his neighbours, all policemen, that Indira Gandhi had not done the proper thing and the consequences were going to be very bad.

While Delhi Police and Intelligence agencies had advised the late Prime Minister that it would be prudent to transfer Sikhs from security duty, she had not been keen to order Beant Singh's removal, as she felt that the transfer of a Sikh who belonged to a Scheduled Caste, would create a bad impression.

Indira Gandhi was struck by 22 bullets. Eight exit wounds were found on her body and 14 bullets were removed. The injuries were all over the upper torso and on the thighs.

ADJACENT

Beant Singh fired with his service revolver as Indira Gandhi approached the wicker gate separating 1, Safdarjang Road from the adjacent bungalow which was taken over for use as an office for her, after Mr A. L. Dias vacated it.

He fired all the six bullets in his weapon at Indira Gandhi at point blank range. All these bullets were recovered from her body. Constable Satwant Singh then sprayed the Prime Minister with his light machine-gun. He too emptied the magazine.

Satwant Singh is learnt to have told the police that they had no intention of killing any person walking behind Indira Gandhi. However, had Mr Rajiv Gandhi been present he (Satwant Singh) was to have killed him. Mr Rajiv Gandhi was in West Bengal.

Having done their job, Beant Singh and Satwant Singh threw down their weapons and raised their arms in surrender. The commandos of the Indo-Tibetan Border Police immediately surrounded them and took them to the guard room near the boundary wall of the premises.

An Inspector of the ITBP with a light machine-gun hung on his shoulder walked up to Beant Singh and began frisking him for more weapons. Beant Singh tried to snatch the weapon. But the inspector managed to wrest it and other ITBP men fired. Beant Singh was hit with more than 20 bullets and died, while Satwant Singh, who sustained eight bullets, is in hospital and is expected to pull

through. An ITBP commando was also injured.

How could the inspector be so careless with his machine-gun? Had not Beant Singh been killed in the guard room, perhaps valuable evidence would have been available about the assassination.

Several persons who had seen the inside of the guard room said that its walls were pocked with bullets that went astray in the shoot-out.

It is now established that at the fateful moment, Mr D. K. Bhatt, Personal Security Officer to the Prime Minister, was walking some yards behind her. He is understood to have told senior police officers that he had been busy with some details concerning the filming by Peter Ustinov and had fallen behind. Two eyewitnesses told The Statesman that Mrs Sonia Gandhi had, immediately on coming out of the house and seeing Indira Gandhi fallen, asked Mr Bhatt where he had been and on hearing his reply, had got infuriated.

One doctor of the medical unit was on duty in the ambulance stationed at the Prime Minister's house on Wednesday morning. The ambulance was equipped with an oxygen cylinder, tubes, monitoring and life-saving equipment and eight bottles of blood of Indira Gandhi's group.

When Indira Gandhi fell, one of her aides Mr M. L. Fotedar, summoned an Ambassador car. The Prime Minister was placed in the rear seat, with Mr Sonia Gandhi, and the doctor on duty had driven to hospital. The front seat was occupied by Mr R. K. Dhawan, Mr Bhatt and the driver. The ambulance at the house was not used.

When the Punjab agitation was at its peak, the intelligence agencies had, against some opposition

(Continued on page 9 col. 1)

SECURITY LAPSE

(Continued from page 1 col 5)

from Indira Gandhi herself, got the Director-General of Health Services to form a unit of doctors. One of them in the well-fitted ambulance was to accompany the Prime Minister wherever she went in Delhi. Doctors from the Central Government Health Services were nominated to the team which was headed by the Prime Minister's personal physician Dr K. P. Mathur.

From all accounts, Indira Gandhi died on her way to the hospital. No one in the Prime Minister's house had informed the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences of the emergency and when the car reached there, only four junior doctors were on hand.

The shooting took place at 9.08 a.m. The car reached the hospital at 9.43 a.m. Mrs Gandhi was taken into the operation theatre at 10.19 a.m.

CONTROVERSY

There is some controversy over where Dr Mathur, the Prime Minister's physician, was while all this happened. According to a Doordarshan make-up woman, who had gone to the Prime Minister's house that day to prepare Mrs Gandhi for the foreign television camera, the Prime Minister had ordered three cups of tea for Dr Mathur, a technician and her (the make-up woman) before going out.

While Dr Mathur later reached the AIIMS in another car, no one seemed to know where he was immediately after the assassination.

Ironically, the specially fitted ambulance was used to take Beant Singh and Satwant Singh to hospital.

Several doctors well up on the events on Wednesday, commented that a medical unit need not have been created and taught what to do in an emergency, when it could not be used on the only occasion it could have been of use. "We are not saying that the Prime Minister would have survived if she had been taken in the ambulance. We are only aghast at the enormity of the blunder and the waste", the doctors said.

Intelligence network needs overhaul

By Hari Jaisingh

THE working of the Intelligence agencies has once again come into focus in the wake of the recent happenings. A lot of inconvenient questions are being raised, both officially and unofficially, which in normal times would be discouraged and even frowned upon. The standard practice, meekly accepted by even the enlightened sections of society, has been to see no evil, hear no evil and talk no evil about the agencies entrusted with the onerous task of gathering, monitoring and evaluating information that may have a bearing on the overall security of the country and its VIPs.

One hardly knows about the exploits of the Indian James Bond. Possibly they are not meant for public consumption. It is of course a different matter if those working in Intelligence set-ups draw themselves into public controversy by taking their grievances to the press. This has happened in RAW and the Intelligence Bureau, and the State CID outfits on a few occasions. Such things are part of our democratic functioning.

However, it took Mrs Gandhi's assassination to make everyone realise that our Intelligence agencies have feet of clay. Mr R. N. Kao has owned moral responsibility for the incident by resigning as the Security Adviser to the Prime Minister. But this in itself cannot improve matters unless the whole Intelligence apparatus is overhauled and reorganised in the light of growing terrorism at home and abroad.

PRIMARY JOB

The Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) came into being in 1968. Its primary job is to gather and monitor external Intelligence. There have been occasions when the services of RAW were utilised for keeping a tab on "inconvenient politicians." This happened during the Emergency. When Mr Kao was brought back as Security Adviser in the Cabinet Secretariat after Mrs Gandhi's victory in 1980 he was personally monitoring information concerning the security of the country and the Prime Minister. The main responsibility for internal Intelligence lies with the Intelligence Bureau (IB) which operates under the Home Ministry. Then there is the

Directorate of Enforcement, and Defence Intelligence which collects information needed for their own purposes. There are also special Intelligence branches (CID) operating as an integral part of the police forces in the States.

These Intelligence agencies function under the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) of the Cabinet Secretariat. Last year the Joint Intelligence Committee was split into two, one to deal with internal Intelligence and the other to collate and evaluate external Intelligence.

In the absence of a centralised body and multiplicity of controls, these agencies have often maintained the utmost secrecy from one another. Small wonder that coordination, supervision and accountability has suffered. Mr Kao was the key person in the overall Intelligence set-up with direct access to the Prime Minister. His resignation leaves a serious gap unless the apparatus at the top is thoroughly reorganised to provide better mechanism for coordination.

While the RAW outfit has of late improved considerably, the main points of worry have been the working of the Intelligence Bureau and the Intelligence wings in the States. They are still run on outdated norms. This is clear from their failures in Assam, Punjab and elsewhere. Their grave limitations were also clearly visible in the recent shocking incidents in Delhi and other parts of the country. The

NO SECRET

Certain troubles have been particularly glaring in the case of Punjab where even basic information gathered was deliberately destroyed to suit certain ends. The assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi was, for that matter, the culmination of a series of failures at all levels. It stands out as a classical example of casualness and adhocism that we generally adopt with regard to vital matters of the nation.

The situation demands a total overhauling of our Intelligence set-up. The country cannot afford to take a casual view of subversive forces directly threatening its democratic polity and integrity. Viewed in this light, the working of the internal agencies is today the main cause for worry. Mere reshuffling of personnel is not enough if the system basically remains faulty.

Unless we give serious thought to some of the basic questions of personnel training, orientation and coordination, our Intelligence gathering will remain lopsided. The failure is not only of the men at the helm of Intelligence and security but is also of the system which is at present highly politicised and not professional enough.

It is no secret that selection of personnel and their postings have not always been on objective considerations of merit or suitability but motivated by the desire to find berths for those who would pull the right strings or are useless or otherwise convenient.

A lot of confusion prevailing at present could be cleared if we create a central authority to coordinate the work of the various Intelligence agencies. Not that this is not being done at the moment. But what is being done is not good enough to deliver the desired results. What is required is a high-level, broad-based apex body that is solely responsible for the coordination, supervision and accountability of all the outfits as well as the direction of purpose, integration of effort, interpretation of information and final assessment. Such a responsible body would also ensure that the Intelligence apparatus is not abused to harass domestic political opponents or muffle the voice of dissent that is a part of our democratic culture and tradition.

FAILURE OF INTELLIGENCE

Subverted To Serve Political Ends

By DIPAK RUDRA

MRS Gandhi's tragic death at the hands of her own personal bodyguard must raise immediate and urgent questions not only about the adequacy of the security cover around the highest in the land, but also about the state of our intelligence system as a whole. As expected, the new Prime Minister has promptly ordered an inquiry by a Supreme Court judge; the Lieutenant-Governor of Delhi has been replaced and many heads in the topmost echelons of the Delhi police and the Intelligence Bureau have rolled.

Let us not beguile ourselves into thinking, as Mrs Gandhi is supposed to have been advised even in July last after the Army action in the Golden Temple, that India has a relatively small, ill-equipped intelligence organization, with inadequate human and material resources at its command. Far from it. Whatever may have been the form and strength of the intelligence agencies we inherited in 1947, and made do with until the Chinese debacle of 1962, today we have one of the most elaborate and comprehensive intelligence networks in the Third World. It covers nearly every aspect of political, economic, social and cultural activity in the country, and perhaps even abroad.

AGENCIES

Broadly speaking, apart from the State-level CIDs, enforcement, intelligence and detective branches, four distinct civilian agencies operate at the national level. They are the Intelligence Bureau raised in 1920, the Central Bureau of Investigation started in 1963, the Research and Analysis Wing of the Cabinet Secretariat formed in 1968, and the Revenue Intelligence branch of the Finance Ministry initiated in the early seventies. A Joint Intelligence Committee oversees the first three of these agencies—we will not discuss the fourth in this article—and is responsible for coordinating both domestic and foreign intelligence. At the same time, an apex committee headed by the Security Adviser to the Prime

Minister is expected to make sure that there is no duplication or overlapping of functions, that resources are optimized and evenly spread out, and the results obtained properly sifted, classified and made available when required.

Manpower varies from agency to agency, with RAW reportedly having the maximum, around 20,000, and CBI the least, nearly 4,000. Since none of the agencies comes under direct, parliamentary control, no figures are readily available about budgetary allocations. However, RAW alone is believed to have an annual budget of Rs 400 crores per annum—not an insubstantial amount, considering the Plan allocations of even medium-sized States!

In point of fact, RAW is, by common consent, the most prestigious of all the agencies; and a RAW posting is the ultimate aspiration of any ambitious police officer up for the take. And once ensconced there, few deign to return to the more mundane tasks of policing the motherland. An Orissa officer of the 1946 batch has been away from his home State for the last 25 years. A former President's grandson, assigned to the Union Territories, has never served in India since 1963. True, there are also recruits with records of proven competence in the domestic agencies, but by and large, RAW has always been the happy hunting ground of political influence and favouritism. Well-connected officers discredited in their natural habitat—district and city administrations—have all too often been spirited away to a comfortable refuge in West Europe or North America, or fitted into pivotal assignments in South Asia, while their worthier colleagues languish in inconsequential backwaters like Fiji or Outer Mongolia.

The upshot, inevitably, has been that compared to its inputs and institutional clout, RAW, after the euphoria of the post-1965 war period and the Bangladesh liberation struggle, has rarely been very productive, in terms of either vital information or pre-emptive action. The Samba spy case is an instance in point, as is the failure to detect and identify, until recently, sources of Pakistani and

Chinese arms purchases. The assassination of Mujibur Rahman and General Zia in Bangladesh, the Mhatre murder in the U.K., and the outrages against Tamils in Sri Lanka, all left our blue-eyed boys of the secret service singularly flat-footed.

Which brings one back to the question of control and critical analysis. A few months ago, a sub-committee of the U.S. Congress flayed American intelligence agencies for their obvious lack of public contact in Iran, and their consequent inability to gauge the depth of feeling against the Shah's regime. One wonders whether our RAW men

MRS Gandhi's murder by her bodyguards exposed a shocking failure of security and intelligence; but this does not mean, according to Dipak Rudra, an IAS officer of the West Bengal cadre who spent several years attached to a Union Ministry, that India's intelligence agencies lack manpower, funds or equipment. On the contrary, "we have one of the most elaborate and comprehensive intelligence networks in the Third World" he says, describing the IB, the CBI and RAW and the joint committee supposedly engaged in coordinating activities and sifting information. If the agencies are still not effective, it is because of nepotism in appointments, internal corruption and political interference in operations. Adverse reports are seldom allowed to reach those at the top; and the main function of all three agencies seems to be to keep track of Opposition parties. Mr Rudra pleads for an exhaustive inquiry and thorough overhaul, for scientific management and accountability to Parliament so that fanatics and traitors cannot so easily hold India to ransom.

could not be accused of a similar complacency where and when it matters.

Next to RAW, our largest intelligence set-up, with a staff strength of over 13,000, is admittedly the IB. It is also, as mentioned earlier, the oldest, with established classical traditions of counter-espionage, infiltration, "bird-watching", and the like. Besides, in the ITBP and SSB, it had until now the only paramilitary commando outfits in the police. (The Special Frontier Force raised by the Prime Minister's Security Adviser is a recent addition.) Known as the eyes and ears of the Union Home Ministry, the IB has for long shouldered the responsibility of internal security. But because of its low profile and unobtrusive ways, its exact areas of interest have seemed rather diffuse, and its tally of victories and losses remained little publicized.

TENACIOUS

All the same, the IB and its subsidiaries have been reasonably active in observing and reporting on developments along our international borders, insurgency in the north-east, and communal stirrings in other parts of the country. The Larkins case, revealing the CIA connexion of two retired officers of the armed forces, is an example of the hard-nosed, tenacious work the IB is capable of. On the other hand, it can with equal aplomb commit the most incredible gaffes, e.g. the misreporting about Jayaprakash Narayan's death in Bombay during the Janata Government.

The IB's main problem is that it has no mechanism to ensure that its reports are acted upon speedily, or at all. Yet it has to take the rap time and again for the tardy responses and ineptitude of policymakers, as well as of the local police administration. There is no way of knowing, for instance, whether periodic IB field despatches about the arms build-up inside the Golden Temple were sent, and if so, if they were taken at all seriously by those who matter in the Ministry. Before the 1977 elections, a series of IB reports from Rae Bareilly supposedly suggested that Mrs Gandhi should visit the constituency and explain publicly the exigencies and excesses of the Emergency. It would appear that none of these were brought

to her notice.

As things stand, the IB is primarily used, by whoever happens to be in power, to keep track of the political opposition, to feed it with disinformation and spread confusion in its ranks—that is, when it is not used for forecasting election results, baiting foreigners, journalists and bureaucrats, and such other sterile capers. As one senior IB official ruefully comments, "All I need do to get a Padma Shri is to tail Mrs X and Mr Y (naming two prominent Opposition leaders) for a year."

The CBI, too, is fast degenerating into an instrument of political harassment and vendetta. Originally conceived and structured as a highly specialized and sophisticated investigative agency, it has two separate cadres to deal with general and economic offences. Since it notionally enjoys a fair measure of flexibility in selecting its targets of action, it can, if it chooses, prove invaluable to State governments in detecting and curbing a wide array of individual and social criminal behaviour. The CBI has a reputation for thoroughness and single-mindedness which has stuck to it, unimpaired by the motivated labours it frequently has to undertake. The prospect of a CBI inquiry still strikes terror in trade and industry circles, and induces, if not rectitude, at least frantic efforts at straightening out papers. One recalls the suicide two years ago of the chief executive of a private firm in Bombay, and another suffering a heart attack, after successive CBI raids on their offices. A Calcutta businessman paced the corridors of Udyog Bhavan for six months in 1975, fearing a probe into a suspected misdirection of imported raw material.

CORRUPTION

For much the same reason, the CBI lends itself easily to charges of corruption and witch-hunting, of bounding the innocent and letting the real sharks off the hook. In 1975, an IAS officer was suspended and proceeded against for the unexplained presence in his flat of some electronic equipment and whisky of foreign origin. Later, in 1977, someone else got away with several kilos of gold, on the strength of a princely, father-in-law-turned M.P.

The CBI's track record is even worse in respect of general offences. The Bobby case in Patna, the Atwal murder in Amritsar, and numerous other unsolved mysteries crown CBI files, and here too political considerations, rather than the interests of justice, usually determine the outcome of months and years of intensive toil and investigation.

It is time, therefore, that a through-going, high-level inquiry is instituted into the working of our intelligence agencies, to determine how best they can be made to serve the country's needs of internal and external safety. Lack of coordination and mismanagement (adversely noted by the Santhanam Committee set up by Jawaharlal Nehru in 1962), absence of accountability to Parliament (present in the U.K. and USA), and progressive politicization are among the more obvious malaises that affect and minimize their effectiveness, and deserve immediate correction. Methods of recruitment and training certainly bear improvement and change—an open-ended system of induction, from walks of life other than the police, could be considered. Pooling of resources and information between the three major agencies—theoretically done even now, but inoperative because of strong institutional rivalries—and the State governments' apparatus of intelligence would help maximize returns on investments and personnel.

The use of modern equipment including computerized data storage and retrieval systems, seems imperative, and new techniques of investigation must replace old and outmoded ones—the Naxalite movement and Punjab offer enough illustrations of the inefficacy of traditional methods like infiltration and subversion from within.

In fine, we can afford to support a forward-looking, fast-acting and expensive intelligence cover only if it can really preserve and protect the fruits of our hard-earned freedom and national integrity, not surrender them lightly to fanatics, traitors and worse.

THE AGONY OF THE PUNJAB AND INDIA'S SIKHS

Beyond The Immediate Crisis

How Can Punjab Return To Normal

By PREM SHANKAR JHA

THE ambivalent reaction (to say the least) of sizeable sections of the Sikh population of the country to the news of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination caused an understandable resentment among most other people in the country, including the thousands who risked their lives and possessions to shelter Sikh neighbours during Delhi's days and nights of terror.

But all of us will do well to refrain from pointing an accusing finger at the Sikh community, and ask ourselves what this ambivalence implies and how it has come to such a pitch. To begin with, it means that the community as a whole, and particularly in Punjab, is in a dangerous state of alienation from the rest of India.

There is an even more important implication in political terms the community is utterly leaderless. To be more precise, it now has very few, if any, leaders who still have a stake in democratic politics and are willing to rely on the ballot to gain their ends. This lack of leadership has been vividly demonstrated by the reactions of key figures among them to the assassination. On the day when it occurred, a statement expressing distress was issued in the name of the five high priests of the Golden Temple. Within hours however Giani Kirpal Singh, the head priest, had denied issuing such a statement. The Akali Dal *ad hoc* committee and the acting chief of the SGPC issued a statement of grief and condemnation, but barely a week later the entire committee has been dissolved by the high priests, and a more militant committee appointed.

The Akalis and the SGPC for that matter thus present a picture of utter confusion. In fact this has been so ever since the army crack down in Punjab. But even within this confusion the drift towards militancy is clearly visible.

Religious Leaders

During Operation Bluestar, the government arrested not only Sant Longowal, the president of the Akali Dal, and Mr. G.S. Tohra, secretary of the SGPC, but on successive days, Mr. Barnala, Mr. Parkash Singh Badal and a number of other top ranking leaders of the Akali party. The government's reasons for doing so were under-

standable. All of them had made inflammatory speeches condemning the army action in Amritsar — often in highly exaggerated terms. The government thus took them into custody with the aim of maintaining peace in the state. But the arrest of these leaders left the Akalis and the SGPC leaderless. The gap was filled by the five high priests. Thus, the demise of the pre-June Akali leadership led to the first overt entry of Sikh religious leaders into the state's politics.

On June 21 the five priests appointed an *ad hoc* committee to head the Akali Dal under Mr. Ujagar Singh Sekhwan. Mr. Tohra's functions were taken over by Mr. Atma Singh, who became the acting secretary of the SGPC. Mr. Sekhwan's first act was to call a meeting of the Akali party on June 29 to take stock of the situation in the wake of the army action. But in the early hours of June 28, the government arrested both Mr. Sekhwan and Mr. Atma Singh. It also arrested their two secretaries, Mr. Gurdip Singh and Mr. Makhan Singh. Once again its ostensible goal was to avert the risk of violence. But what it actually succeeded in doing was

to render the Akalis leaderless once again.

What followed did not only confirm the fusion of religion and politics in Punjab, but also demonstrated in the clearest possible terms how the creation of such a leadership vacuum invariably, and unavoidably, weakens the moderates and strengthens the militants.

The June 29 meeting did take place, barely a hundred persons attended, but that was sufficient for the purposes of the militants. In the new vacuum created by the arrest of Mr. Sekhwan, the five high priests once again took the lead and appointed yet another acting president and *ad hoc* committee for the Akali Dal. The new president was Mr. Surjit Singh Majitha. The meeting also gave a call for *shaheedi jathas* to march from each gurdwara on July 15 to push the army out of the Golden Temple.

Five Demands

Interestingly neither of these two decisions were taken at the meeting itself, but merely announced

later at a press briefing. Both were the work of a militant caucus within the party which had got the high priests to side with them and give them a cloak of legitimacy. In fact three Akali ex-ministers present at the meeting questioned the legality of the *ad hoc* committee precisely on the grounds that the high priests had no authority to make such appointments. But the *ad hoc* committee led by Mr. Majitha did get accepted as speaking for the Akali party in a remarkably short time, and the *shaheedi jathas* did try to set out from their gurdwaras on July 15. The take over of the Akali party by the hardliners was thus complete.

Before he was arrested, Mr. Parkash Singh Badal had unequivocally spelt out five demands for the Central government. These were that the Golden Temple should be handed over to the SGPC; that *kar seva* should be undertaken by it for the reconstruction of the Akal Takht without any financial or other form of assistance from the government; that five eminent Sikhs should be allowed to visit the temple to inspect the damages; that a list of the dead and the injured in the Golden Temple action be handed over to them, and that the army be withdrawn and curfew lifted.

The reasons for the government's refusal to accede to these demands are varied. The main ones were its fear that the SGPC would not repair the Akal Takht, but would leave it as a monument to remind Sikhs of their persecution by the "Hindu" state; that they would not prevent the extremists from re-entering the gurdwaras and using them once again as sanctuaries, and that the removal of the army would lead to a pogrom against the Hindus in Punjab.

It is possible to argue that these fears were exaggerated, but that is besides the point. What is more pertinent is the fact that in playing safe, the government unwittingly took steps that weakened the relatively democratic forces within the Sikh community.

Indeed no phase of the government's dealings with the Sikhs shows less political acumen than those that occurred between say the 10th of June and the end of July. Within days of the Amritsar action the government put out feelers to the Akalis to resume the talks on their Anandpur Sahib demands that were broken off in May. It did not realise till it received the brusque Akali rejection that after Amritsar these demands were utterly irrelevant. Worse still, it did not realise that this did not mean that "there was nothing left to negotiate." On the contrary there were a brand new set of Akali demands. In fact Badal had wisely not set any time limit for meeting his demands. The mere announcement of talks would have helped to boost the Akalis once more, and paved the ground for a resumption of the democratic process when tempers cooled. Instead the government launched *kar seva* through Baba Santa Singh and virtually gave the *coup de grace* to the moderates in the Sikh community.

If the drift towards a civil war is to be reversed in Punjab, then the above trend in political developments must be reversed first. It is important to remember that the terms "moderate" and "militant" or "extremist" are always relative terms. So long as the Akalis have not declared themselves in favour of the creation of Khalistan, the party as a whole is moderate when compared with the extremists who want secession, and do not hesitate to shoot a prime minister and provoke communal riots to achieve their aims.

By the same token, the leaders of any ideologically oriented political party, like the Akalis, are always moderates in relation to the rank and file. New Delhi must therefore be prepared to talk to whoever is leading the Akali party at any given moment of time. What is more, it must be willing to allow the Akalis to frame the issues, for that is in fact what the Central authority invariably does when faced with organised groups that wish to change the *status quo*.

Restraining Influence

However, New Delhi can influence the balance of power within the Akalis to some extent by releasing the leaders it has put in jail. Not only will the act itself relieve some tension, but the return of Longowal and Badal to the political arena will act as a restraining influence on the party as a whole. What is more, there is not a moment to be lost in doing this, for the drift towards militancy among the Akalis is continuing, as the replacement last week of the entire *ad hoc* committee led by Mr. Majitha, once again through the instrumentality of the high priests, clearly shows.

There is a school of thought in Delhi that after Amritsar the Akalis are a spent political force and therefore not worth wooing. This may have been true before October 31, but it is not true any longer. Some three and a half million Sikhs living in the rest of India have felt the flames of hell lick their feet. A very large number have also felt the bonds of love and humanity that tie them to the rest of the people of India. The moderate Akalis may not have had a constituency last month. But they have one now.

The problem before the Sikhs outside Punjab is the same as the one that confronts New Delhi. How are they to bring their perceptions to bear on the ordinary Sikhs in Punjab, who have not shared their experiences? The answer for both is the same: through leaders and a political party that the latter are still willing to listen to, and who in turn are willing to present their demands and express their grievances to the rest of the Indian people through the normal processes of a democratic polity. Only the Akali party can fill this bill.

Gandhi and the Sikhs:

A Policy Gone Awry

A Straw Man Got Out of Hand

By Richard M. Weintraub
Washington Post Foreign Service

Indira Gandhi twice resorted to massive displays of police or military power to try to bring order to an unruly India. The first time she ultimately lost her job; the second time, her life.

What had begun as a time-honored political maneuver of creating an alternative to a political foe had turned back on its makers.

When she declared a national emergency and took virtually dictatorial powers in 1975, the electorate gave its answer in a resounding defeat for her and her party. Even if India's turbulent politics had gotten more unruly than usual, India's voters decided that she had gone too far in wiping out civil liberties and jailing thousands.

The second time, when she called in the Army to quell a rebellion among the minority Sikhs, it cost her much more—her life and perhaps her country's long-term stability.

Divide and rule had been part of the politics of the Subcontinent from British days and before, so it was no surprise to find loyalists to Gandhi backing an obscure Sikh sect in the rich and politically important Punjab when the most prominent Sikh party, the Akali Dal, was proving a challenge to her Congress Party after it returned to power in 1980.

Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale was on the fringe of Sikh life, a village preacher and militant exponent of Sikh nationalism ignored by most of the Punjab's relatively prosperous farmers and small businessmen. But for reasons still unclear, he was chosen by Zail Singh—then the Punjab chief minister and now India's president—as a counter to the more established Akali party.

The strategy seems to have been to pick someone too obscure to become a real threat but, with the right backing, a man who could gain enough backing to split the more militant Sikh vote and leave the Punjab safe for Indira's Congress. It was a simple, presumably safe strategy.

Later, Bhindranwale was said to have received backing more directly from Sanjay Gandhi, Gandhi's younger son and her chosen heir apparent until he died in a plane crash in June, 1980, although it is unclear whether Indira Gandhi knew directly of her party's backing of Bhindranwale.

Somewhere, however, the strategy went all wrong. The man who was not supposed to be a threat became intoxicated with his own radical rhetoric, turning with a bitter vengeance on Gandhi. He called her that "Brahman girl who is prime minister and is given more status than the Sikh scripture."

"Peace and violence are from the same root. We are like a matchstick that is made of wood and is cold. But when you strike it, it flames,"

NEWS
ANALYSIS



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Sikh-owned cars burn after being set afire by rioting Hindus in New Delhi.

Bhindranwale said in the same interview with Washington Post South Asia correspondent William Claiborne in April 1983.

He had taken refuge with his well-armed supporters in Amritsar's Golden Temple, the sacred shrine of India's 12 million Sikhs, after being implicated in the murder of a Hindu newspaper editor and accused of a variety of security offenses.

Knowledgeable observers of Indian politics now say that the original political misjudgment that led to the anointing of Bhindranwale as a counter to Akali Dal had been compounded by failure to move against him when there was still a chance.

The murders and violence of 1982 and 1983 spawned by Bhindranwale's rhetoric had created a general sense of revulsion among most Sikhs, according to students of Punjab politics. Yet, the demands of

the Sikh militants for greater political rights and recognition of Amritsar as a holy city also had begun to strike a responsive chord.

In the end, Indira Gandhi vacillated and did nothing of consequence.

The result was an upsurge in violence and the decision last June to send the Army into the Golden Temple. The government says 600 died in the resulting violence; others put the figure above a thousand.

But beyond the immediate casualties, the invasion touched a chord in Sikhs everywhere, creating militants in a way Bhindranwale never could have done.

When Beant Singh and Satwant Singh opened fire in Indira Gandhi's garden, they undoubtedly were thinking of the Golden Temple and not of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and the politics of divide and rule.

INDIAN EXPRESS

Bombay: Wednesday, November 7, 1984

LOOK BEYOND TODAY

THE Punjab problem was the death of Mrs Gandhi. Ultimately, and sooner rather than later, it is this root problem that must be tackled. There are of course certain immediate tasks such as that of maintaining law and order, providing relief to the riot victims, and restoring normal economic activity and social relations. These are however not entirely separate from the larger issue and the manner in and speed with which they are accomplished will be important. One of the most vital things that must be kept in mind at all times, everywhere, is that the psychological or emotional rehabilitation of the affected people is possibly far more important than even relief and physical rehabilitation. One shining beacon in the surrounding darkness created by the holocaust in Delhi and elsewhere was the fact that in many areas Sikh families were saved by their Hindu neighbours and associates. Similarly, earlier, Hindus in Punjab, especially in the rural areas, were protected by their Sikh neighbours. What this shows above all is that the rioters and killers were neither Hindu nor Sikh but hooligans and madmen who betrayed their own faith by their foul deeds. It is to the lasting credit of the people of Punjab that right through the earlier troubled period of terrorism and now, after the horror of the Delhi and north India riots, they have shown remarkable restraint and maintained peace and harmony.

Even if a political settlement in Punjab has possibly to wait until the election is over, the present trauma and crisis offer a psychological moment and an opening for a new initiative. As a first step, Mr Longowal, Mr Badal and other senior Akali leaders against whom there are no criminal charges should be released so that the existing vacuum in the Akali-Sikh leadership is filled and a far less mature and more adventurous leadership does not come to the fore and consolidate its position. This would also allow informal consultations preliminary to the formal dialogue to follow. The former President, Mr Sanjeeva Reddi has suggested precisely this too. Meanwhile, the formation of a broad-based ministry in Punjab would be another happy and immensely practical gesture. The appointment of some eminent non-party Sikh(s) who enjoy(s) the confidence of the Akali party and the community generally would provide stability and strength and help move the focus from partisan to national considerations. There are many reasons to suggest that such a course is impracticable, unwise, premature and even foolhardy. There are many more and better reasons to believe that some such imaginative and bold gesture like this might cut the Gordian knot.

Militant Sikhs jubilant in London

By Staff Reporters

Overjoyed Sikhs sang, danced, marched and set off fireworks in London yesterday in jubilation at the death of Mrs Gandhi, while militants swore to seek further vengeance and start a guerrilla war in India.

The words "blood for blood" were everywhere outside the Sikh temple in Havelock Road, Southall, as Sikhs with flashing eyes and dark beards spoke of preparations to right their wrongs back in India.

Not all Sikhs shared the militants' views. "It's bad to kill people. It is no solution to the problem," an old man said, shaking his head.

Not far away half a dozen policemen stood on guard outside a Hindu temple, but there appeared to be no sign of tension or violence between the communities.

The head of the self-styled Sikh government in exile, Dr Jagjit Singh Chohan, said the shooting of Mrs Gandhi was "only the beginning" of a campaign to wipe out those responsible for the bloodbath at the Golden Temple of Amritsar. "Mrs Gandhi had to suffer just as the Sikhs suffered," he said.

He appealed to Sikhs in Britain to stay calm and not to cause trouble on the streets.

There are about half a million Sikhs in Britain, representing about one third of the population who have Indian origins. They are largely concentrated in Southall, the Midlands conurbation stretching from Birmingham to Wolverhampton.

Many other Indians were shocked by the assassination, and Mr Prakash Mehrotra, the High commissioner in London, appealed for "calm, courage and fortitude" from them and from Sikhs.



Dr Chohan: "Mrs Gandhi had to suffer".

Jagjit Singh 'threatened'

LONDON, Nov. 6.—Mr Jagjit Singh Chauhan, the self-styled leader of "Khalistan", today said he had received dozens of death threats since Indira Gandhi's assassination, reports AP.

Mr Jagjit Singh Chauhan (56) head of the "Khalistan" Sikh separatist movement, caused outrage in Britain and India when he said last week that Indira Gandhi deserved to die and that her son and successor, Rajiv, would be the next.

He accused the Indian Government of deliberately spreading rumours of his death.

"Government agencies (in India) are responsible for these lies", he said. "They want Sikhs to think we are dead to spread hysteria".

Mr Chauhan, who stays in self-exile in London, said he received the anonymous threats by telephone and that the Scotland Yard had posted a policeman outside his west London home.

The Indian High Commission in London delivered a note on Friday urging Britain to prosecute Mr Chauhan for "highly inflammatory statements aimed at incitement of violence against Indian leaders". Britain's Foreign Office said.

Mr Chauhan told reporters on Saturday that Indira Gandhi's son, Rajiv, would be killed because he had been an accomplice in the storming of the Sikhs' holiest shrine, the Golden Temple. But he insisted that he was not inciting Sikhs to assassinate the new Indian leader.

"I am not instigating people...I am simply telling you a historical fact", he said.

Fearsome Responsibility On Both Sides

By AMALENDU DAS GUPTA

UNLESS the censors have kept us completely in the dark, Punjab has been spared any massive Sikh backlash against happenings in other States. But no one can be certain that this tenuous peace will hold. Many Sikhs who have suffered elsewhere in the country are anxious to return to Punjab and accounts of their experiences, which may be magnified by grief and anger, will create further bitterness. This will reinforce exaggeration by rumour, always a potent force under censorship. And the Sikh religious leaders, already talking of genocide, seem ever ready to exaggerate, mislead and incite.

What could possibly happen need not be spelt out in detail. One eventual consequence could be a large-scale migration of Hindus from Punjab, with more and more Sikhs pouring into the State from the rest of the country. The army presence in Punjab is no doubt a deterrent to organized disorder, and the pattern of Sikh occupations in other States may discourage a ready transfer of residence. The restoration of normal conditions will also be taken into account. Even the most irresponsible in Punjab cannot be totally unmindful of likely repercussions elsewhere of another systematic campaign of violence in the State, especially after the appalling events of the past one week. But prudence could give way under the pressure of a blind emotional build-up.

ESTRANGEMENT

Should Punjab be engulfed in fresh turmoil, even the army—in the absence of a responsible political and social leadership—would be unable to cope with all its consequences. The result could be estrangement of the whole State, not merely the alienation of a particular community. If this prospect, with all its horrifying implications, became a reality, it might then be cynically said that Mrs Gandhi's death had brought about what she had striven so hard to prevent in the last years of her life. That would be vile desecration of the memory of a person who rejected intelligence advice to remove Sikhs from her security guard with the firm answer that this would be a repudiation of the nation's secular commitment.

These are not reassuring things to write about, and some may think it inappropriate that they should even be mentioned at this time. But there really is

not much reassurance even after the violence has subsided. Passions are not yet spent; new hatreds have been born. It will not be easy for wounds to heal, or for us to live down what we have known of ourselves—and of each other. We have heard of Sikh jubilation at the news of Mrs Gandhi's assassination; and Sikhs would say that there was Hindu jubilation in Punjab after Operation Bluestar. We have seen Hindu savagery in Delhi, Bihar and elsewhere; and many Hindus, even though distressed, would seek to rationalize it in terms of the Sikh extremists' record in Punjab and the monstrous act of October 31. We have seen ordinarily sensible and law-abiding people lose all reason and restraint; apparently harmless youths have suddenly plunged into a bestial orgy of murder, arson and plunder.

Worse, we have seen how years of good neighbourliness, even warm friendship, can be contemptuously disowned and cruelly mocked, how an insatiable vengeful urge does not stop at wounding, killing and destroying, but seeks horrible ways of humiliating the imagined enemy. Many members of a community lately given to a new fundamentalist assertiveness have been humiliated by acts to wound their religious identity and pride. Is this an assertion of Hindu hegemony? Whatever it is, some of the reaction to supposed Sikh crimes has been worse than atavistic: animal instincts have become uglier through evolutionary accretion. And we have seen it all in the course of a few days. Admittedly, not for the first time, but

that only makes it a matter of greater shame.

"After such knowledge, what forgiveness?" Must one refrain from harping on what has happened lest any mention of it should inflame cooling passions? Mental dismissal has been no safeguard against repetition; 1947, after all, was all but forgotten until the shrieking, murderous mobs took over soon after Mrs Gandhi's death. One cannot build for the future by trying to wish away the past. What has been known does not induce forgiveness; the sins will not be washed away by conventional pieties. The harsh knowledge is better analysed and pondered.

The anatomy of the recent violence has not yet been fully determined. Was it a hysterical mass reaction to the killing of the nation's undisputed leader,

with its fury instinctively directed at a particular community only because the killers belonged to it? Was it a more specifically Hindu onslaught on people many of whom had been challenging a socio-political order which necessarily reflects the reality of the nation's Hindu majority and who were thought to have declared open war by striking down the person who held this order together. Or was the overwhelming sense of outrage exploited by what are called "anti-socials" and "lumpen" elements?

The last is perhaps the least embarrassing notion, though the growth and nature of India's lumpenproletariat, which must be the despair of any revolutionary dreamer, need to be examined with greater concern by the authorities and established political parties. Hoodlums and their teenage apprentices took over large parts of Calcutta, but this was not the whole story; and it certainly cannot explain what happened in certain areas of Delhi, Bihar and other States. Ostensibly more responsible members of society, including political activists, were involved in many cases. Besides, anti-social elements cannot go on the rampage with such impunity without a climate of opinion condoning their action; even the police force was apparently influenced by this climate in many places.

RESPONSIBILITY

No one is free from collective guilt and if worse is not to follow, or a repetition is to be avoided, there will have to be an attempt at collective atonement. But when the collective consciousness is enfeebled by doubt, distrust and fear, the primary responsibility necessarily rests with those in authority, both in the Government and the ruling party. There was a failure immediately to anticipate the likely repercussions of Mrs Gandhi's murder, which was compounded by further administrative ineptitude even after violence broke out on a large scale. Congress (I) leaders seemed paralysed by uncertainty; some of the prominent Opposition leaders, too, failed to comprehend the nature and gravity of the situation created by Indira Gandhi's assassination.

Sanity has partially returned, good sense has been sectionally restored; but it will not be easy to rebuild trust. The least that the Government, both at the Centre and in the States, can do is to maintain every possible

arrangement for the protection and general security of Sikhs, for the prevention of any fresh violence—either in continuation or in retaliation, and for the full rehabilitation of all those whose lives have been wrecked in the last few days. They cannot be given back all they have lost, but the nation owes them whatever recompense is possible. Bitterness will persist, but it can be at least marginally alleviated by a sustained demonstration of genuine official concern.

Psychologically, however, more important will be the collective Hindu attitude. Political leaders need to consider how little they have achieved with their ritualistic homilies on communal harmony, but their failure does not exonerate the Hindus as a community. However grave the provocation, the response of the Hindu avengers, for which the entire community must hold itself responsible, has been unforgivable in its nature and direction. If it is argued in extenuation that the insane violence was an uncontrollable outburst against what was seen as an assault on the centre of national authority, the simple answer is that an estranged community cannot be forced back into the national mainstream. Hindus have little to gain from the consolidation of an emotional Khalistan.

But there is a lesson for the estranged Sikhs too, and politically it may be more important. Some of them have hitherto argued that their quarrel was not with Hindus, but with Mrs Gandhi's government and party—indeed with Mrs Gandhi herself. They seemed not to realize that Bhindranwale's record would not be seen in this light, nor the Sikh reaction to the army action to clear the Golden Temple of the terrorists and their arms. The shock at some of the consequences of Operation Bluestar was understandable, but not the unchastened defence of the Bhindranwale cult. The army action was seen by the Sikhs as an intolerable affront to their prodigious self-esteem. Few cared seriously to examine what had made it necessary, or whether it could really have been avoided except at quite unacceptable risk to national security. They remained prisoners of their overblown rhetoric about their distinctive identity and prowess.

REVULSION

What the Sikhs have suffered at the hands of violent mobs must be incomparably more agonizing than anything that the army can have inflicted on them. Valour is futile against mob frenzy; and the mass hysteria, however despicable in its nature and effects, was not altogether unrelated to a build-up of revulsion and anger at what was perceived to be arrogant Sikh rejection of basic national postulates. This is not to pronounce on the merits of these postulates, but only to point to the inevitability of a powerful gut reaction in their defence when the polity incorporating them seems to be in peril. Nothing could have seemed a greater threat to certain irreducible common interests than Mrs Gandhi's assassination. An entire community was certainly not responsible, but recent events and attitudes had hardly prepared the ground for immediate dissociation of the assassins from the rest of the community.

This cannot extenuate the shockingly regressive strands of the Hindu response to Mrs Gandhi's death, but both Sikhs and Hindus need to reflect on what they cannot achieve by competitive violence. Only the state can protect the Sikhs from majority violence, and they cannot repudiate the state when rightly demanding such protection. The Hindus cannot force the Sikhs into integration with the national mainstream; violence will only harden the barriers the Sikhs are building around them. The state cannot bring down these barriers either, but it can, and will, prevent them from being politically and constitutionally legitimized. Even if worse were to follow and the whole of Punjab were to acquire—at incalculable cost to both Sikhs and Hindus—a composition and character further emphasizing Sikh separateness, it would still not be Khalistan. The Indian state will see to that.

There would be no victory for either side, only a great human tragedy for both communities. The alternative is to maintain the peace, to preserve the balance, that still obtains in Punjab; even a sullen coexistence is infinitely to be preferred to open conflict. The responsibility is awesome on both sides, but little awareness of it has been evident in the attitude of the Akali and Sikh religious leaders. The sentiments in Jathedar Kripal Singh's telegram to the President seem to mark a welcome departure, but more evidence is needed to establish that there is a real change.

India Challenged To Protect Sikhs

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Foreign Service

NEW DELHI, Nov. 4—As sectarian violence triggered by the assassination of prime minister Indira Gandhi began to ebb today, the government of her successor and son, Rajiv, was confronted by the potentially explosive problem of ensuring the safety of tens of thousands of Sikh refugees who are afraid to return to their homes.

Sikhs who found sanctuary from Hindu mob violence in makeshift relief camps or in private homes said they are demanding security guarantees from the Army before they return to their religiously mixed neighborhoods in riot-torn New Delhi.

The government confirmed today that 458 persons had been killed here during the past four days,

See SIKHS, A20, Col. 1

SIKHS, From A1

while unofficial death tolls are as high as 600 dead in the capital and 1,000 throughout the country.

Some homeless Sikhs said in interviews in the camps that they wanted to leave the capital for the heavily Sikh-majority state of Punjab but were afraid that they would fall victim to Hindu mobs that have attacked passenger trains and killed scores of Sikhs. The carnage is reminiscent of the Hindu-Moslem killings that followed partition of the Indian Subcontinent into India and Pakistan in 1947.

The government offered assurances today to the largely skeptical Sikh community that normalcy would be restored soon and that most Sikhs would be able to leave the refugee centers and return to a normal life.

Madan M.K. Wali, who was appointed lieutenant governor, or chief administrator, of this capital of 6 million today, said at a news conference, "My endeavor is to see that this orgy of madness . . . is put to a stop."

As the dimensions of the massacres of Sikhs in reprisal for the assassination of Indira Gandhi by two Sikh security guards started to emerge yesterday, police stations in Sikh neighborhoods throughout New Delhi began to fill with Sikhs seeking protection or having no place to live because their homes had been burned by Hindu mobs.

Later in the evening, authorities shifted many of them to three hastily established refugee camps in government schools and five smaller "rescue camps" set up in government-owned buildings.

Wali said that 20,000 refugees are being housed in the camps and another 4,000 in the Sham Lal College, and that others are still seeking shelter in police stations. Still more are hiding in Sikh temples.

Wali conceded that the figures fail to account for Sikhs believed to have fled to homes of friends and relatives in the city.

"The decision is that those who want to go back [to their homes] should go back . . . We will not discourage them. But before we allow them to go back, we want to be sure that there will be no threat to them," Wali said.

When pressed on how long the refugees would remain in the camps, Wali replied, "Our belief is that they will not stay in these camps too long. When confidence comes, they will leave, in a matter of days."

Many refugees interviewed had a different perspective.

At the Ludlow Castle government model school in old Delhi's Raj Niwas area, Harbhajan Singh, 24, a civil engineer, said, "We won't stay in Delhi. It's impossible to stay. These people behaved like butchers. I'm not going back to my home." Singh said he wanted to go to Punjab, where his father lived until 1950, but that he was afraid to travel by train.

"The second night [of rioting], trains came in packed with corpses. It was worse than 1947. Every Sikh was butchered, or if he wasn't butchered, his hair and beard were cut off. If we ride the train, the Army must provide security," he said.

The courtyard of the school was filled to overflowing with Sikh refugees, many of them sitting under sparse trees seeking shade and still looking dazed by the violence that swept through their neighborhoods.

Some displayed knife wounds and dark welts from beatings with wooden staves and cricket bats, and one had fingers on one hand cut off.

Suvinder Singh, 24, who makes farm tools, displayed dark bruises from a beating and ragged remnants of a beard and head hair that he said were cut off by 25 Hindus who broke into his home.

A mandatory ritual of the Sikh religion is to wear unshorn beards and hair, and devout Sikhs regard the loss of either as a personal disgrace. Singh said the mob found him hiding under a cot on the third floor of his home, and that after he pleaded with them to spare his life, they cut his hair and beat him.

"I can't go back to my home. They are all after me. I will go to Patiala [in Punjab]. We will all go to Punjab," Suvinder Singh said, referring to his mother, father and sister, all of whom he said were beaten during the Thursday night attack.

When asked if he would travel to Punjab by train, he replied by shrugging his shoulders and saying, "On the way to Punjab is Haryana. I'm afraid the government won't do anything to protect us." Haryana is a predominantly Hindu state.

Like many Sikh refugees interviewed, Suvinder Singh blamed the government for the anti-Sikh rampages, saying the police deliberately pulled back to allow Hindus to vent their outrage.

"Look how they arranged the Army in Delhi today," he said, referring to the deployment of 21,000 troops and numerous tanks and armored personnel carriers in the city. "Just like they arranged the Army, they could have stopped the massacres Wednesday."

Balbir Singh, a tourist-bus oper-

ator from Punjab, cited the virtual martial law imposed in Punjab preceding the June 5 Army assault on the Golden Temple in Amritsar, saying, "If they can put the whole of Punjab under the protection of the Army, why can't they do it here?"

At the Guru Tegh Bahadur Sikh temple in the normally teeming Chandni Chowk bazaar in old Delhi, three Army tanks and scores of soldiers with their rifles at the ready guarded a now-deserted street as Simrit Singh Grewal, a retired Army captain, talked about the assassination and the depths of bitterness that it and its aftermath have

created between the Sikh and Hindu communities.

The assassination "was not the fault of all the [Sikh] people, but all the people are suffering because of it. This disturbance came like a storm," said Grewal, one of about 300 Sikhs who have sought shelter in the imposing and ornate temple.

Grewal said that as long as the Army is encamped outside, he will feel safe, but, he added, "What will happen when they leave? I feel safe now, but what of later?"

Thursday night, Wali, who was then India's home secretary, said at a press conference that only two

persons had been killed in New Delhi. This was to the astonishment of many reporters covering the rioting who had confirmed many killings.

Today, in his capacity as head of the city government, Wali said that violence had been "unprecedented," but that the capital quickly was returning to normal.

"Delhi has never seen such a thing before. Delhi is used to seeing big crowds, big agitations, and the odd riot here and there. But the last two days have been totally unprecedented."

Wali said that Sikhs would probably be unwilling to leave the safety of police-guarded refugee camps until they regain confidence in the authorities, and that the government was taking steps in that direction, including the deployment of the Army and the arrest of 1,800 persons for rioting.

Rajiv Gandhi Offers Conciliation to Sikhs

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Foreign Service

NEW DELHI, Nov. 6—In a conciliatory gesture, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi said today that the assassination of his mother, Indira Gandhi, by two Sikh security guards cannot be blamed on India's entire Sikh community. He offered government compensation for lives and property lost in anti-Sikh rioting.

Gandhi told a delegation of prominent Sikh leaders that Sikhs have long been known for their patriotism and chivalry, according to Indian news agencies. The prime minister was quoted as telling the delegation that he did not believe that any sane Sikh would have assassinated the country's leader.

Gandhi's comments took on added importance, because they involved an obvious attempt to heal the wounds of sectarian rage that left 599 persons dead in four days of rioting in the capital. More than 1,000 died nationwide.

He coupled the remarks with an announcement that families of the victims of the communal clashes would be paid compensation and that low-interest loans would be offered to owners of businesses that were destroyed.

Gandhi also said that the government would bear the cost of repairing Sikh temples and schools that were damaged by Hindu mobs.

Six days after the assassination, near normalcy prevailed in New Delhi and most of the country today, as Army troops and paramilitary forces maintained vigilance against further outbreaks of rioting.

Some of the estimated 50,000 Sikhs left homeless by the wave of arson, looting and murder by Hindu mobs began returning to their communities—but most not to their own houses. The appearance of Sikhs on the streets in many parts of the capital represented an encouraging sign that the spasm of violence may be over, at least for the time being.

But fears that retaliation could erupt against Hindus in the northern state of Punjab—where Sikhs have a slight majority—were expressed within both religious communities here, despite assurances by the state's governor that order would be maintained at all costs. Army units that have been in Punjab since security forces stormed Amritsar's Golden Temple complex June 5 are being maintained on high alert.

Sikh refugees being housed at government shelters here said today they expected a renewal of violence in

See INDIA, A11, Col 6

INDIA, From A1

Punjab once the dimensions of the wave of killings following Gandhi's assassination are more widely known.

"The government is preventing information about the massacres from getting out. But there will be trouble in the Punjab, definitely. The relatives of Sikhs slaughtered in Delhi will not sit quiet," said Satpal Singh, a 23-year-old electronics shop owner who sought safety in a makeshift refugee center in the Raj Niwas section of New Delhi's old city.

Singh said he escaped death at the hands of a Hindu mob by jumping over his backyard fence and hiding in the home of a Hindu neighbor.

A police inspector at the refugee center, who asked not to be identified, said that the number of homeless Sikhs in the converted school building had dropped from 7,000 to 2,500.

"No one is safe outside. If they want, they [the government] can provide safety and security at our homes. Those who are leaving are not going back to their homes. They are going to friends and relatives in their areas," said Surinder Singh, 33.

When asked about the increasing—although still small—numbers of Sikhs who can be seen walking and riding bicycles on crowded New Delhi streets, he replied, "The Sikh community is a very bold community." Sikh religious leaders here and in other Indian cities said that, because of sectarian tensions, processions and festivities scheduled for Thursday to mark the birthday of the first guru of Sikhism, Guru Nanak, have been cancelled. Some Sikh temples have scheduled instead a "prayer day" to appeal for restoration of communal harmony.

In the capital—worst hit by the rioting—the daytime curfew was lifted

for the third day, the volume of traffic increased and more shops and businesses reopened. The number of public buses on the road increased considerably, although it was not up to normal. Many buses were destroyed by arsonists, and many owned by Sikh transport contractors are being kept out of service.

Railway officials said that passenger train service, curtailed after scores of Sikhs were murdered on trains, was being restored, although with armed escorts on most routes.

The only significant incident reported today in outlying areas occurred in the hill station town of Simla, in Himachal Pradesh, where a group of students went on a rampage, breaking windows of Sikh-owned shops. Schools in the town had reopened this morning after being closed for five days.

In neighboring Punjab state, which has reported no major communal incident since the assassination, Gov. K.T. Satarawala said in an All-India Radio broadcast that maintenance of order was a "collective responsibility" of all persons in the state, and that the Army and paramilitary forces would maintain order "at all costs."

Meanwhile, the government announced that compensation equivalent to \$850 would be awarded to families of persons killed in the rioting.

Prime Minister Gandhi assured leaders of 10 opposition parties that there would be no political interference in efforts to recover property looted during the rioting. He said directives had been issued to law enforcement agencies to recover all the stolen property possible.

The opposition leaders had demanded in a letter to the prime minister that the government be firm in dealing with the security situation.

Many Sikhs Radicalized After Killings in India

Pilgrims to Birthplace of Faith's Founder Vow Revenge

By William Branigin
Washington Post Foreign Service

NANKANA SAHIB, Pakistan—Wearing a black turban and a blue sleeveless jacket, the 32-year-old factory worker from London emerged barefoot from the Gurdwara Janamasthan, the shrine marking the birthplace of Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion.

Six months ago, the Sikh pilgrim said, he gave no thought to politics and had been back to his native India only once in the 20 years he has lived in Britain. But the events in India since June, particularly the Indian Army's attack on Sikh militants in the Golden Temple, their holiest shrine, and the massacres of Sikhs following the assassination of prime minister Indira Gandhi, have made him a supporter of a separate Sikh state, he said.

"There's no other option now," said the pilgrim, who did not want to be named.

"We are ready to give everything" to achieve a separate state, said another, "including money and our own lives." As they spoke, a loudspeaker inside the shrine in this small Pakistani town about 36 miles southwest of Lahore broadcast a sermon calling on Sikhs to support an independent homeland called "Khalistan" in the Indian state of Punjab. Other pilgrims, here to celebrate the birth of Guru

Nanak 515 years ago today, wore T-shirts emblazoned with separatist slogans.

In fact, many of the more than 2,500 Sikhs who gathered here from India and various western and Asian countries were celebrating not only the birthday of their religion's founder, but the death of Indira Gandhi and the apparent spread of separatist sentiments.

At the same time, several Sikh leaders vowed revenge for "atrocities" committed against them by enraged Hindus who went on a rampage of rioting and anti-Sikh violence after Gandhi was shot last week by two Sikh security guards.

The assassination was an act of vengeance for the Indian Army's attack June 6 on armed Sikh militants barricaded inside the Golden Temple in the northwestern Indian city of Amritsar. At least 600, and possibly more than 1,000, Sikhs were killed in the attack, in which more than 80 Indian officers and soldiers also died.

"It is a religious duty of any Sikh to punish anyone who desecrates the Golden Temple," said Piara Singh Sandhu, a member of the Khalistan Council, a Sikh separatist organization based in London.

"Nobody condones assassination, but this was natural," said another council member. "For each and every Sikh, it [Gandhi's death] was the happiest day

See SIKHS, A45, Col. 1

in our lives. It was like the death of Hitler for the Jews. You couldn't have kept Jewish families from celebrating the death of Hitler."

"At least we got some revenge," said a woman merchant from Amritsar. "That's our Mecca, our Jerusalem." She said that when word of the assassination reached Sikhs in India's Punjab, where they make up a majority of the state's approximately 17 million population, "People were overjoyed." The Golden Temple was lit up and there was "rejoicing throughout the Punjab," she said.

"We have been beaten like shoes," the merchant added. "Now, instead of being slaves, we must get freedom." But this would be difficult, she said, because the Indian Army had imprisoned Sikh leaders and taken away Sikh youths accused of being terrorists.

"We don't have proper leaders to lead us at present," she said, adding that those who remain are "inefficient" or "cowed by threats from the Indian Army." She said, however, that she was not afraid to fight for an independent Khalistan and swept aside her shawl to reveal a *kirpan*, a dagger carried by Sikhs in a sheath at the waist as a religious symbol.

The militancy of many Sikhs who have gathered in Pakistan this year for the annual pilgrimage to Guru Nanak's shrine appears to have raised some concern in both Islamabad and New Delhi.

India protested sharply to the government of President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq after Pakistani newspapers Tuesday reported statements by the visiting Sikhs demanding "total independence" from India and revenge for the recent massacres.

A Lahore paper, Nawa-i-Waqt, quoted one Sikh leader living in the United States, Ganga Singh Dhillon, as saying that Sikhs in the Indian Army "will surely take revenge for this barbarism and savagery," and that any Sikh who agreed to anything less than a fully independent Khalistan "is a traitor and deserves to be beheaded."

In a meeting with Indian Sikh leaders after receiving an Indian protest note, Zia called on the Sikh pilgrims to "avoid activities that might create an unwarranted misunderstanding" between India and Pakistan.

A senior Foreign Ministry official in Islamabad acknowledged that "the events in the Indian Punjab since last June have made a negative impact on Indian-Pakistani relations." He said this was unjustified, "because what's happening in India is on account of a long background of deteriorating relations between the central government and the Sikh community." He asked whether Indian authorities were "trying to find a scapegoat for their own failures of policy and misjudgments" by suggesting that Pakistan was supporting Sikh militants.

"We are not backing them up," said Brig. Gen. Noor Husain, the director of Pakistan's Institute of Strategic Studies in Islamabad. "We have our hands full already" with domestic political problems and the presence of more than 2 million Afghan refugees in the country, he said.

He labeled "absolutely fictitious" Indian charges that Pakistani authorities were behind the smuggling of weapons into the Indian Punjab and the training of Sikh militants on the Pakistani side of the border.

Western diplomats said private arms merchants may be smuggling weapons obtained from Afghan Moslem guerrillas battling Soviet forces in Afghanistan, but that they saw no evidence the Islamabad government had a hand in arms trafficking across the Indian border.

"Whenever they [the Indians] have problems internally, they like to blame it on foreign powers," Noor Husain said. "We have no intention of interfering" in the Sikh issue, he added. "It's very much an internal affair of India."

Nevertheless, the Hindu-Sikh turmoil in India appears to be viewed with a measure of satisfaction among some Pakistani officers, who say it makes any Indian attack on Pakistan more difficult and risky. The two countries have gone to war three times since the 1947 partition that carved off Moslem Pakistan from predominantly Hindu India.

Noor Husain said it would be "very foolish" for the Indians to attempt any retribution against Pakistan for the perceived Pakistani support for the Sikhs.

"What guarantee is there that the Sikhs in various Army units would not turn their weapons in the other direction?" he asked.

In any case, he said, India's ethnic problems are "of its own making" and New Delhi will now have to cope with the "very deep sense of vendetta and revenge" that the Sikhs get from their religion.

"The Punjab has found its place on the insurgency map of the world," Noor Husain said. "I don't see the breakup of India as such, but I think there's going to be controlled chaos for the next decade or so."

ADDING FUEL TO FIRE

ONE of the resolutions reportedly adopted by a joint meeting of the executive committees of the Akali Dal and the SGPC has claimed that the two organizations are prepared to make any sacrifice to safeguard secularism and democracy. This is to be welcomed, more so because the remaining resolutions, besides being in despicable taste, give little indication that these worthy commitments will be carried out. As it is, a great deal of consternation and ill feeling have been caused by Giani Kirpal Singh's churlish denial of having issued a statement expressing grief at Indira Gandhi's murder. The latest resolutions confirm that the Akalis, under the leadership of the head priests, have no intention of rethinking their role in instigating communal hatred and the politics of violence. It is astonishing that men of religion should hold out threats of "dire consequences" and warn of "drastic steps" at a time of communal frenzy, when the first priority of all honest Indians should be the restoration of peace and harmony. For the second time in recent months the Akalis have appealed to Amnesty International, thus providing a further handle to the likes of the expatriate, Dr Jagjit Singh Chauhan, who has become notorious for his inflammatory statements on British television. The primary aim of such malevolent utterances is clearly to cause further confusion at home and, by projecting an erroneous impression of feelings here, to humiliate India abroad.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that far from being shocked into a sense of responsibility, the Akalis have chosen to exploit the crime and its deplorable aftermath for communal and sectarian ends. That they have not lost sight of possible political gains from the frenzy is apparent in their appeal to all Sikhs in the Congress (I) to resign from the party. It would not be entirely surprising if a "hukamnama" to this effect follows, for the head priests have been quite liberal in using their authority for blatantly politi-

cal purposes while resisting appeals to issue an edict against the politics of murder. It is nobody's case that the Government acted with exemplary firmness in putting down the orgy of communal violence that erupted on October 31. The manner in which hoodlums ran amok in Delhi and other cities is a severe indictment of the law and order machinery, and it is the responsibility of the Government to reassure the people that those guilty of appalling indolence will not be spared. Indeed, Mr Rajiv Gandhi has already taken some commendable steps in this regard. But what a new and embattled administration least needs at this moment of crisis are outpourings of hatred from the leaders of the community which has been the victim of unspeakable savagery during recent days. It is amazing that while the Delhi Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee has appealed for peace, and is reportedly cooperating with the authorities in restoring confidence among the Sikhs, the head priests continue to make untenable demands for a "national Government" and to issue provocative statements which can only add to the fund of bitterness and hostility.

The acquiescence of the Akalis and head priests in Bhindranwale's murderous methods while he was alive could arguably be attributed to physical fear. But what are they afraid of now? Unless they have decided to abandon democratic methods altogether and lead a terrorist campaign, it is difficult to see what they seek to gain by such dangerously reckless actions which are surely repugnant to ordinary Sikhs everywhere. While agreeing with the inevitability of the army action in Punjab, many non-Sikhs were sympathetic to the Sikhs' sense of hurt at the damage unfortunately caused to their holiest shrine. Almost all political parties have also actively condemned the violence against Sikhs in the wake of Mrs Gandhi's murder, and most have demanded even tougher military action to quell the disturbances. While the feelings of every individual Sikh assaulted and

humiliated during the recent riots must be assuaged, the present leadership of the Akali Dal and the SGPC have forfeited all right to the country's sympathy. The formation of joint Hindu-Sikh peace committees in Delhi and other strife-torn cities demonstrates that people have begun to get over the temporary madness. To claim that the Sikhs are not being treated as citizens of India, as the Akali Dal's resolution does, is a deliberate rejection of this evidence, a threat to national unity and an insult to the voice of sanity. Enough damage has already been caused, and India has paid a grim price for democracy and secularism. The time has come not only for Hindu fanatics to make adequate atonement, but also for every right-thinking Sikh to repudiate those community leaders who cannot think beyond bigotry and narrow political

CENSORSHIP IN PUNJAB

ESSMA
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INDIAN EXPRESS

Published from Ahmedabad Bangalore Bombay Chandigarh Cochin Delhi Hyderabad Madras Madurai Vijayawada

Chandigarh: Friday, November 2, 1984

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Smt. Indira Gandhi
30th October, 1984Installation of Rajiv
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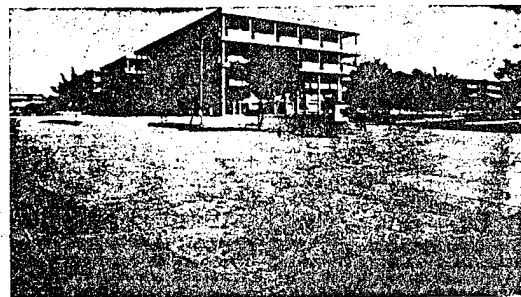
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The body of Mrs Gandhi lying in state. — Express photo/aps.



Chandigarh's main shopping centre in Sector 17 where a deserted look on Thursday when not a single shop opened following the assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi. — Express photograph

Life in city
paralysed

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Thousands file past
Mrs Gandhi's body

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World leaders begin
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The body of Mrs Gandhi lying in state. — Express photo/aps.

Censorship was imposed in Punjab in the wake of the riots in the country after the assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi. This is what the front page of the Chandigarh edition of the Indian Express looked like on November 2.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF RAJIV GANDHI

Rajiv: 'A Moment Of Profound Grief'

Associated Press

NEW DELHI, Oct. 31—*Following is the text of the address delivered today by Rajiv Gandhi:*

Indira Gandhi, India's prime minister, has been assassinated. She was mother not only to me but to the whole nation. She served the Indian people to the last drop of her blood.

The country knows with what tireless dedication she toiled for the development of India. You all know how dear to her heart was the dream of a united, peaceful and prosperous India.

An India in which all Indians, irrespective of their religion, language or political persuasion live together as one big family in an atmosphere free from mutual rivalries and prejudices.

By her untimely death her work remains unfinished. It is for us to complete this task.

This is a moment of profound grief. The foremost need now is to maintain our balance. We can and must face this tragic ordeal with fortitude, courage and wisdom. We should remain calm and exercise the maximum restraint. We should not let our emotions get the better of us, because passion would cloud judgment.

Nothing would hurt the soul of our beloved Indira Gandhi more than the occurrence of violence in any part of the country.

It is of prime importance at this moment that every step we take is in the correct direction.

Indira Gandhi is no more, but her soul lives. India lives. India is immortal. The spirit of India is immortal. I know that the nation will recognize its responsibilities and that we shall shoulder the burden heroically and with determination.

The nation has placed a great responsibility on me by asking me to head the government. I shall be able to fulfill it only with your support and cooperation. I shall value your guidance in upholding the unity, integrity and honor of the country.

Singh: 'I Have Lost My Dearest Friend'

Associated Press

NEW DELHI, Oct. 31—*Following is the text of the address delivered today by President Zail Singh:*

My dear countrymen, on this the saddest day of my life I speak to you when I am totally overtaken by the dark cloud of cruel fate.

Our beloved Mrs. Indira Gandhi is no longer with us. I have lost my dearest friend.

We have all lost one of the greatest leaders our country has ever produced.

And the world has lost a harbinger of peace who was undoubtedly the greatest woman leader mankind has ever produced.

My association with her family spans over four decades.

Punditji's [Gandhi's father, Jawaharlal Nehru's] passing away was my first personal bereavement.

The loss of Mrs. Gandhi is for me unbearable.

In spite of her preoccupation with her official duties, we met often. For me each such meeting was a memorable experience.

She was gentle, soft-spoken, brilliant and above all an epitome of culture.

She was a daughter Punditji would have been proud of.

Now all that has ended. The dastardly act of assassins, which is not only heinous but a crime against humanity itself, has put the nation to test at an extremely critical juncture of our history.

The unity and integrity of the nation is being challenged. Let our grief not cloud our good sense and maturity both as individuals and as a nation. God shall grant us the strength to meet the new challenges.

Let us rally behind the ideals we have inherited from our forefathers. Let us demonstrate to the world that India's stability cannot be jeopardized by a handful of subhuman assassins.

Prime Minister's Message of Thanks to People

BK080428 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT

7 Nov 84

["Text" of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's message thanking the people for sympathy shown him over death of Indira Gandhi — read by announcer]

[Text] I thank you all for the sympathy you have shown me in such overflowing measure. You and I have suffered a loss which can never be made good. You and I must work together to continue and complete the task which Indira Gandhi left unfinished.

Indira Gandhi died as she had lived, unafraid, with courage abiding. Her name and her work will remain deathless. Sacred books tell us that death is the gate to immortality, yet the physical body ceases to be. It must be returned to the elements. There are different ways of doing so, and individuals often indicate what should be done with their body after they are no more. It is the son's duty to carry out the parent's wish.

Indira Gandhi loved and venerated the Himalayas and drew strength from them. She regarded herself as a child of the mountains. Whenever she was asked where she wished to live, her answer was high up in the snowy mountains. To others, the steep path might be a trial. To her it was exhilarating. She said once to us Indians: The Himalayas are not just a great mountain range. They are an inseparable part of the Indian consciousness standing for eternal values. The magnificence and grandeur of the mountains, the impassible lofty peaks help us to see ourselves and our concerns in perspective. How small, how insignificant we are and for all our powers of destruction and creation, how helpless we are in the vastness of the universe. And yet we are possessed of something special, an unconquerable soul. This is what enables men and women to bring the impossible into the realm of possibility.

Indira Gandhi had desired that on her death her ashes should be scattered in the Himalayas. I shall later this week entrust the mortal remains of my mother to the care of this great lord of the snows. A portion of these will be strown at Gangotri, which my mother described as the symbol of as the earth's need for water. This sacred spot is the source of the Ganga, the river of India.

With the scattering of her ashes in the Himalayas will end Indira Gandhi's earthly journey. But the nation's journey continues. Let us walk together, stout of hearts and purpose, firm in step.

Gandhi Asserts Control

New Delhi Violence Leads to Dismissal

By Michael Getler
Washington Post Foreign Service

NEW DELHI, Nov. 4—Rajiv Gandhi, the 40-year-old son of slain leader Indira Gandhi, made his first moves today to assert authority as prime minister and quell the sectarian violence that has rocked India since Wednesday's assassination.

Gandhi formally reinstated all but one of his mother's Cabinet ministers. He also fired the chief civil servant in the capital for his failure to move more quickly in controlling the violence.

The new Cabinet, in its first official act, announced that it has ordered a full inquiry into Indira Gandhi's death. The inquiry will be headed by a Supreme Court judge.

The prime minister met yesterday and today with a series of foreign leaders, including Pakistani President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq.



RAJIV GANDHI
... facing crucial test

After meeting with the new prime minister, Zia said he expected a new approach "by a young man who would not be affected by old animosities between the two countries."

Gandhi's ability to get a grip on
See GANDHI, A19, Col. 1

GANDHI, From A1

the government and reduce the turmoil is being seen as a crucial test for the inexperienced leader, who was an airline pilot until four years ago and who acknowledges that he came to politics unwillingly.

Although Gandhi was criticized by opposition parties within 48 hours of being sworn in, he has begun to draw some favorable comment and may benefit from the reduction in the violence that is now more evident in the capital and elsewhere, political observers said.

In an editorial yesterday, the Times of India newspaper said Gandhi had "passed one test of leadership remarkably well" by showing "an extraordinary capacity to remain calm in the face of a great personal and national tragedy and the mad reaction to it."

Pran Chopra, a director of the Center for Policy Research and a widely respected political commentator, said in an interview that "what we are looking for at this stage is not what kind of a prime minister he will make, but what kind of a person he is."

Chopra said that "the last three days have been both revealing and reassuring," noting that Gandhi was thrust into office "completely unprepared" and as "an unknown quantity." The composed and calm figure he displayed during his mother's nationally televised funeral has probably helped his image, he added.

Chopra said he was impressed by Gandhi's sending state governors—who had rushed to Delhi upon the news of Indira Gandhi's death—back to their regions to help control rioting, and by the decision to tour riot-scarred sections here before dawn Saturday, prior to the funeral.

It was during that tour that Gandhi reportedly ordered the police and military to beef up what had been inadequate security and told civil servants to make sure of responses at emergency telephone numbers that citizens are supposed to call for help.

Many innocent victims of the violence here claimed that no one was available to help or protect them. Many Sikhs, who have been attacked by Hindus seeking revenge for the killing of Indira Gandhi by two Sikh bodyguards, claim the police either encouraged the attackers or looked the other way.

Gandhi's reappointment of his mother's Cabinet, with the exception of the minister for planning, came as no surprise. The late prime minister had some strong advisers in her entourage. However, many political commentators here have said she rarely used them. The question now, said one observer, is whether the younger Gandhi will make use of them.

Even if calm returns here, a perhaps bigger challenge to Gandhi could come if retaliatory violence against Hindus occurred in the northern state of Punjab, where Sikhs are in the majority.

Thus far, Punjab has remained tense but under control, according to Indian news services. But many Sikhs in Punjab advocate independence from an India that is 85 percent Hindu. Sikh extremists in Punjab carried out a campaign of terror there against moderates until June, when Indira Gandhi ordered the Indian Army to subdue the extremists holding out at the Sikh Golden Temple shrine at Amritsar.

That attack outraged India's 15 million Sikhs and ultimately led to the revenge killing of Indira Gandhi.

In a nationwide radio broadcast Friday, two days after being sworn in, Rajiv Gandhi demanded an end to the violence that followed the assassination and said that "the government will ensure the safety of life and property of every citizen, irrespective of his caste, creed or religion." It was meant to comfort the Sikh victims who had been set upon by Hindu mobs.

Gandhi's most important diplomatic meeting was with Pakistan's President Zia. Their two countries have fought each other three times in the past 37 years, and ties are strained.

But Zia said that "all is quiet on the Indo-Pakistan borders" and "there is nothing to worry about." Zia said he had a good response from Gandhi to plans for new dialogue and "we hope that our bilateral relations will be still better."

Gandhi got a boost from British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who told reporters, "I respect him greatly." French Prime Minister Laurent Fabius emerged from a meeting with Gandhi to say French President Francois Mitterrand had the "highest personal regard" for the new Indian leader.

The expectation here is that within the next few weeks Gandhi will announce elections to be held in January in quest of a public seal of approval on his accession to power. The opposition parties generally are regarded as weak and fragmented.

If Gandhi were elected, Chopra said, his priorities should be to end "the politics of confrontation and strife" that he said Indira Gandhi brought to Indian politics.

Chopra argued that what he views as the excessive power concentrated in the late prime minister's hands depleted and paralyzed the machinery of government in the states and in the federal bureaucracy as well.

Even the failure to quickly curb the violence after the assassination, he said, was a reflection of the breakdown of local administration, which is supposed to handle such problems. It also reflected the lack of sound ministry-level advice on such matters as when to call up the Army and how fast to impose curfews, he said.

Some observers here who share this view say that the chief civil servant responsible for law and order in New Delhi, who was fired today, may well have been a scapegoat for a deeper problem.

Rajiv Gandhi faces daunting task



Indians in New Delhi for Mrs. Gandhi's lying in state

Indian leader must quell riots, counter regionalism, preserve democracy

By Mary Anne Weaver

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

New Delhi

Rajiv Gandhi, India's seventh and youngest prime minister, confronts a task as awesome as any world leader could face — how to hold together this disparate nation of some 700 million people, seven religions, and multiple languages, cultures, and castes.

Mr. Gandhi's most immediate need is to restore communal harmony between Hindus and Sikhs. Since his mother, Indira Gandhi, was assassinated by two Sikhs from her security guard Wednesday, violence against Sikhs has flared throughout the country's northern Hindi belt.

At time of writing, the rioting, shooting, bomb explosions, and killing were growing worse. It was not clear how or when the security forces would regain control.

Beyond that, he will have to contain mounting regional pressures at home; find his own balance in dealing with India's neighbors and the superpowers; and learn to master India's mighty experiment in mass democracy.

At times such as this, it sometimes might appear that this complex nation has begun to come apart at the seams. But India's multitudes, steeped in history and resilience, normally tend to be an unrevolutionary, largely fatalistic people. And they expect that the only surviving son of

Please see INDIA back page

Soviets try to link US to slaying

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INDIA from front page

Mrs. Gandhi, herself the daughter of the indomitable Jawaharlal Nehru, will continue the family tradition of ruling the nation. The Nehrus, more than anyone else in the country, have always been considered "national" figures — "all-Indian."

Indian democracy is a largely feudal mix. As family businesses are inherited, so are political empires which groom political heirs.

Mrs. Gandhi was a woman of action and political instincts; but her critics charged that she lacked her father's vision and dreams. Rajiv is more like Nehru, gentler, more conciliatory. But if Rajiv Gandhi fails to gain a firm grip on power quickly, or if his hold should falter even slightly, India could pay an enormous price in uncertainty and political turmoil. For his mother left an unenviable legacy to the largely untested Rajiv.

During her 16 years as premier, Mrs. Gandhi tended to concentrate power largely in her hands; to denude the once-

great Indian National Congress party of anyone deemed a threat; and to minimize the stature and importance of the Cabinet, Parliament, and the country's 22 eclectic states. Hence, her assassination was all the greater loss.

Now Rajiv Gandhi must move swiftly and adroitly to contain the anti-Sikh violence — which had reportedly taken more than 100 lives by Thursday night — before it leads possibly to an even more shattering Sikh backlash against Hindus in the Sikh-dominated Punjab. And he must do it at a time when regional tensions, once largely contained, have begun to mount again.

When Mrs. Gandhi sent the Indian Army into the Sikhs' holy Golden Temple in June to rout out militants, the repercus-

The trend toward deploying the Army in domestic crises has spurred many retired generals to express a commonly held fear that this institution could become politicized, further crumbling a vital bulwark of the world's largest democracy.

The fact that democracy has survived in India against such heavy odds — the depth of division and tension, an annual per capita income of \$230 a year, a 66 percent rate of illiteracy, and a population explosion adding 15 million Indians each year — lends weight to Mrs. Gandhi's claim that a powerful central government was indispensable in ruling India.

Now it is Rajiv's turn to confront the task of keeping the country together. There also is a consensus here that the new Prime Minister Gandhi must take urgent steps to exert his control over the



Violence flared Thursday in New Delhi

sions were felt from Kashmir in the Himalayas to the sunbaked villages of the south. Likewise, when the elected chief minister of Andhra Pradesh State, N.T. Rama Rao, was overthrown in August, it prompted a month of sustained national protest. Eventually the central government felt compelled to reinstate him. It was a rare instance of Mrs. Gandhi's acknowledging defeat.

In both cases, the Indian Army — the only institution in the country to have transcended corruption, political meddling, and feudal disputes — was called upon to settle or oversee the resolution of civilian political crises.

quarrelsome Congress (I) party which had been held together by the force of Indira Gandhi's personality and political skills.

Some members of the party are quietly taking issue with the way in which Mr. Gandhi was sworn in as premier. Under the Constitution, the President selects a caretaker prime minister in the event of the incumbent's death until the majority parliamentary party in full caucus elects a new leader. There was no such caucus on Wednesday, and President Zail Singh swore in Mr. Gandhi as prime minister, not as a caretaker prime minister.

One of the failings of Indian democracy is that it has never spawned a credible, effective, or national opposition. This is due in part to the force of the personality of Rajiv's mother and of his grandfather.

Yet opposition leaders have recently begun to move tentatively toward a joint electoral strategy. They have already protested the manner in which Mr. Gandhi was hastily sworn in. It can be assumed that they will also take issue with the very concept of a dynastic heir.

Buffeted by the growing regional strains and by a political process whose rules he disdains, Rajiv Gandhi will have to decide soon whether to hold parliamentary elections on schedule in January, or defer them to June.

Many political analysts are convinced he will hold elections on schedule. His mother's assassination, at a time when the party's fortunes were discernibly beginning to flag, could well reverse what has been a downward trend since 1982. His own prestige would be enhanced enormously with a sweeping electoral victory.

A sympathy vote would be a compelling factor, which could assist and actually strengthen Indian unity.

A GENTLEMAN IN POLITICS

HE SEEMS the quintessential nice-guy. Polite, courteous, considerate, sober, restrained, sincere, methodical, happily married, uncomplicated, clean, soft-spoken. If fate had not intervened, he would have gone through life flying his planes, taking photographs of his children, spending relaxed evenings with his close circle of friends acquired in school and at university, making his annual trip to Corbett National Park, being a home-body, staying out of controversy's way. But now, barely 40, he is prime minister.

First a mamma's boy in politics ("The way I look at it is mummy has to be helped somehow"; August 1980), then a member of Parliament, Congress(I) general secretary and something close to an Extra-Constitutional Authority, Rajiv Gandhi is an officer and a gentleman thrown among wheelers and dealers ("You don't know who's saying what and why"). Now he has to hold the world's most fractious country together, take it forward, live with the possibility of a second assassination, and do something that will make a difference to the lives of millions who have so far had little reason for hope.

It is a task that would have neither occurred to, nor attracted, the shy boy who sat 26 years ago at the dinner table in Doon School's Kashmir House, almost hiding from his visiting grandfather, Jawaharlal Nehru, at the senior table in the centre of the room. In class, he occupied a back bench. Outside it, he played



the regulation games without distinction occasionally broke bounds and stole forbidden leechis from the school trees, but generally kept out of harm's way. Younger brother Sanjay would break a friend's tennis racquet because he undercut a market that Sanjay had set up for lime juice in the school, but Rajiv seemed neither enterprising nor destructive. He was liked, but not "popular popular", a well-behaved lad but not a sissy. In 1960, he just failed to become a prefect, and passed the Senior Cambridge examination in the second division. It didn't seem at that time this boy was

meant to shape a country's destiny.

Soon he was at the Imperial College in London. After a year, he moved to Trinity College, Cambridge, for a course in mechanical engineering. "Didn't study at all, really," he said once in explanation of the continued lack of educational distinction. And at home in India, his mother fretted, writing letters which suggested that she expected Sanjay to take care of his older brother.

Money was tight in England: some £620 a year, of which £450 went in fees, and boarding and lodging expenses. There was not much left after that, so Rajiv sold ice cream, worked in a deep freeze factory, then in a bakery (where he seems to have won a prize for a record quantity of baking), and plucked fruit. But the one who got himself a car was Sanjay, who was doing a stint with Rolls Royce in Crewe.

Rajiv was good-looking, and the girls were interested. But he dated them without conviction, accompanied male friends to pubs where he did not drink (he remains even today a man who is happiest with gallons of Cola), and debated what was wrong with India in the way that political university students do. But he stayed away from the leftist university union, remained unaffected by the Beatles wave, wondered how he would attend a dinner at the high commissioner's without a dinner jacket

Rajiv Gandhi just before the Amethi election: reluctant start

(friends found him one that fitted), and went his mundane way, not flaunting his family connection, making few waves. At a party, he met Sonia Maino, who had come up from Italy to do a year's course in English. M.O. Mathai wrote tartly some years ago that this was the best thing that Rajiv did at Cambridge. Rajiv has said he thinks so too.

He didn't hit it off quite so well with Sanjay, though. They weren't particularly close as brothers, and Rajiv does not seem to have inquired too closely into Sanjay's records at Rolls Royce or into his Maruti project later, maintaining that "to make a prototype is one thing but to get the same thing under production is much, much harder". Nevertheless, he and his family bought shares in one of the Maruti companies, and Sonia was employed as a managing director of two of the Maruti firms on salaries of Rs 2,500 and Rs 2,000 per month, respectively, plus a commission on profits. Rajiv disclaimed later that only Sonia's "name" was involved, that she "never really looked into it" and that "we never really got anything out of it." But Sonia drew her salary, and was also the agent who handled Maruti's insurance policy. Despite these embarrassing involvements in a controversial venture, however, the two brothers had entirely different sets of friends, and Rajiv's gang, comprising mostly ex-princes and businessmen or company executives, had frequently turned up its nose at the younger brother's less cosily upper class cohorts.

FLYING was an early interest: he did some gliding immediately after school, then a bit of flying in England, and back in India after Cambridge, he passed an entrance test at the Delhi Flying Club before starting lessons at the government-subsidised rate of Rs 10 for an hour in the air. The private pilot's licence and the commercial pilot's licence came his way without difficulty. Soon, he was a pilot in Indian Airlines, and rated well by the company. He became a check pilot on Avros, and would almost certainly have risen fairly high in the airline hierarchy if he had not left shortly after getting his licence endorsed for flying Boeings in 1980.

As a pilot, his concerns were as mundane as the average pilot's, with little grievances about tight timings, the lack of a newspaper at the airport or in the aircraft cabin. He took them once to the then chairman of the airline, A.H. Mehta, using the opportunity provided by a long hop in an Avro when Mehta

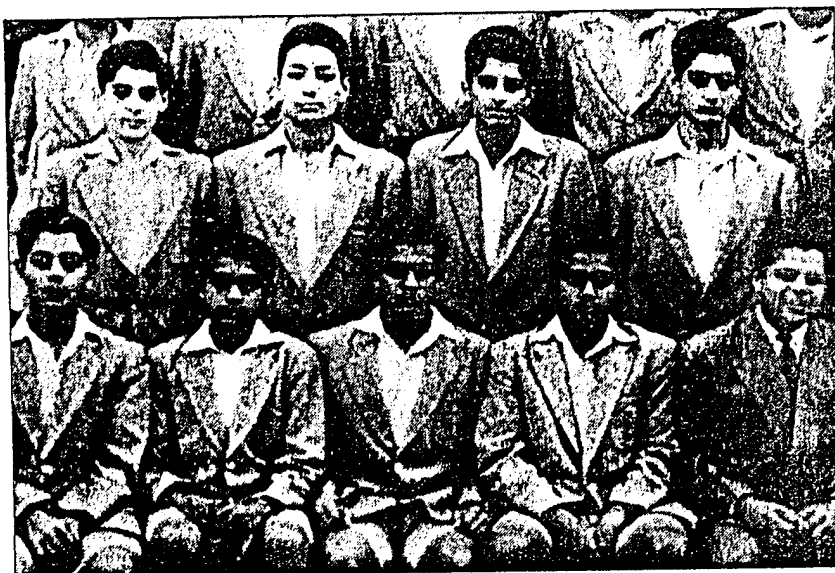
was a captive passenger.

He has a catholic taste in music, taking in Hindustani, western classical, jazz and pop. His rooms at 1 Saldarjung Road have been invariably littered with electronics magazines, popularised science literature, high-technology journals. His fair-sized book-shelf, however, shows little taste for history or philosophy. Even on his video set, he watches films on the micro-chip.

Wheedled into entering politics, the uncomplicated "nicer brother" image has given way to a more complex collage of impressions. His initial foray was enti-

than a party politician.

At the height of the Antulay affair, three years ago, he commented privately that there was a limit to the amount you could brush under the carpet, and that the truth would finally show through. But last August and September, there was nary a word of protest at N. Bhas-kara Rao's horse-trading in Hyderabad. Instead, there was the steadfast defence of Ram Lal's action, and the persisting dismissal of N.T. Rama Rao's reinstated government as a minority ministry. There was a similar silence when Karnataka's Veerappa Moily was accused of



Rajiv, top left, at the Doon School: well-behaved and average student

rely in character: cautious, methodical, working hard to fit politics into the equivalent of a pilot's operations manual, intent on finding his feet rather than sweeping others off theirs. But his constituency has been feather-bedded in a manner that smacks of impropriety—most notably the extension of a gas pipeline 200 km east at a cost of over Rs 200 crore so that a fertiliser plant can be located in the Amethi constituency—while a sassy sister-in-law displayed a more natural flair for getting across to the hoi-polloi. The initial fit of temper at a servile chief minister's obsequiously effusive welcome at Hyderabad airport has given way to an unprotesting acceptance of Central cabinet ministers and state chief ministers waiting to see him, escorting him around, singing his praises, deploying the state machinery for someone who was till last fortnight's untimely succession not much more

trying to buy up Janata legislators with money.

Seemingly reasonable and sensible in private, Rajiv Gandhi has also sounded irresponsible or discordant in public, accusing the opposition parties of colluding with foreign powers out to dismember the country, upstaging his mother in the sabre-rattling game by predicting a Pakistani attack, and failing to condemn Bhindranwale and his politics of hate while referring to him as a religious leader. He handled the fouled-up negotiations with Farooq Abdullah on seat adjustments for the Jammu & Kashmir election last year, and there was some questionable footwork involved in first approving and then stymying a move to give legislators in Maharashtra (read Antulay) protection from penal action. There is much evidence here of a novice hamming around, and a suggestion of malleable principles.

There has also been the odd coincidence about the Italian state-owned giant, Snamprogetti, bagging an enor-

mous amount of business in India at a time when its representative in Delhi, Ottavio Quattrochi, and his wife are close friends of Rajiv's and Sonia's. Speaking to *INDIA TODAY* in the past, Quattrochi has denied that this friendship has helped him in his business, though he added that "my wife goes out shopping frequently with Sonia". But the fact is that Snamprogetti has got a stranglehold on the technical contracts for virtually all the urea plants being set up in India, even those being set up by companies that have traditionally dealt with Snamprogetti's rivals, and in one case

ance of a dynastic succession, however democratic, and the willingness to blur the distinction between party and government. In less than four years in politics, Mr Clean finds that his halo is somewhat soiled.

But Rajiv has also worked hard at understanding his party, spotting its weaknesses, identifying the local challenges, getting to know the party workers, preparing for the elections. If there has been about this the mildly amusing air of a slightly out-of-depth novice employing systems, questionnaires and interviews as a substitute for

tions in Tamil Nadu without aligning with either of the Kazhagams. But his composure and measured responses during critical and personally agonising days last fortnight hinted at a steely strength within that was not suspected earlier in the pleasant but shy pilot who chose to avoid the limelight. Several transformations have already taken place since 1980, and more could well follow because of the pursuit and exercise of power.

The initiatives that he has taken since 1980 are, however, a pointer to what interests him, and may be a guide to other likely changes that will appeal to a techno-generation and its perceptions of growth, modernity and the conveniences of aspiring life-styles. It was Rajiv and his coterie of advisers who took the lead four years ago in pushing a strategy for more rapid increases in oil production so that imports would drop quickly. This may or may not have been at the instance of the French company that hoped to get additional business, but oil production this year will be an impressive 29 million tonnes, instead of the earlier target of 21 million tonnes.

A great believer in electronics, and in a future shaped by the micro-chip, Rajiv Gandhi was once again responsible for the decision in mid-1983 to do an about-turn on electronics policy, to reduce excise and customs duties, liberalise licensing, and expand the market for consumer electronics items, notably for TV. When a public sector official suggested to him that low-powered transmitters could very quickly and cheaply expand the total TV network and Door-darshan's reach, the idea was immediately accepted and pushed through with enhanced budgets.

RAJIV's intervention for modernising telecommunications has followed from an impatience with the telephone system and the knowledge that the pace of change in global communications simply cannot be ignored. So when a non-resident Indian who had specialised in electronic telecommunications said he wanted to help bring Indian telecommunications up to date, and through an indigenous research effort to boot, Rajiv helped him get an audience with Mrs Gandhi and half the cabinet, an audience during which Rajiv himself asked virtually all the questions. The scheme got cleared with a whopping budget and a blitz of publicity.

Then, of course, there was the Asian Games two years ago when Rajiv worked



overriding strong protests from the World Bank. Meanwhile, Snamprogetti's Danish associate, Haldor Topsoe, has bagged the parallel contracts for ammonia plants, an issue that stirred a hornet's nest three years ago when the Government overlooked the claims of an American rival, C.F. Braun, which had been recommended by the experts. But to be fair to Rajiv, there has not so far been anything approaching evidence that he has either inspired these decisions or gained materially from them.

Less defensibly, Rajiv launched the mass loan programme in January this year without thought for the gross violation of banking norms involved in getting Congress(I) politicians to oversee bank loaning decisions. So, while the methods and objectives may be different from Sanjay's, there are similarities as well. There is the reliance on a coterie of personal advisers who count for more than the party regulars, the choice of the strategic path to power by gaining control of the party machinery, the accept-

Rajiv and Sonia before his entry into politics: bygone days

basic instinct and gut-feel. Rajiv has also been unlike Sanjay, who brought about a qualitative change (for the worse) in Indian politics in less than five years. Rajiv's stamp is still faint.

However, the new prime minister has already shown that he can be tough when the occasion demands it. The sacking of Delhi's lieutenant-governor, P.G. Gavai, following the Delhi Administration's failure to prevent the riots and murders, was in keeping with the earlier decision, believed to have been authored by Rajiv, to throw F.M. Khan out of the party. In his public speeches, he had repeatedly called for a tougher stand on Punjab, and for the receipt of written guarantees of good behaviour from the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee before the handing back of the Akal Takht. Occasionally, the toughness bordered on foolhardiness, as in his earlier preference for fighting the elec-

hard to establish that he too was a doer, but of a different kind. Somebody asked him whether he had wielded the big stick to get things done in double-quick time but Rajiv's answer was characteristic of the man: "We did not ask anyone to do what he was not supposed to. All the required systems and procedures were followed; we only wielded the big stick to make sure that there was no delay at all in following the procedures." So not the Sanjay way, but the goods delivered nevertheless.

There is a pattern to all these initiatives as well as some less important ones (in tourism, wildlife protection, the environment: e.g. the boosting of the Kanha game preserve in Madhya Pradesh, the formation of an Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) to among other things clean up the Ganga and spruce up Varanasi's bathing ghats). All of them reflect the aspirations and perceptions of an urban post-Independence generation's perceptions of how India should catch up with the rest of the world: they reflect a view of the environmental problem as relating to pretty trees and tigers and archaeological monuments. A splash that costs a few hundred crores to build stadia, flyovers and five-star hotels is worth the trouble and expense, and a freer inflow of foreign technology and foreign money is a necessary component of modernisation.

THE TECHNOCRATS should get paid more because, as he once pointed out, *paanwallahs* make more money than scientists, public sector managers should be paid as much as their private sector counterparts and then made accountable, the educational mess should be sorted out because "terrible mistakes" have been made in the past, and private industry should be allowed to roam free, unfettered by cumbersome controls that rein enterprise and initiative. There has been, in the process, a relative lack of concern for the older problems about landless workers, caste barriers, tribals who are denied access to forest produce, slum-dwellers who need latrines and not flyovers. Rajiv Gandhi's concerns are those of an upwardly mobile

middle class, not those of the millions on the other side in a schizophrenic society and economy. So the most ardent votaries of the new prime minister just now are the industrialists and company executives. In contrast, Sanjay's five-point programme had a real-world earthiness in the campaigns for literacy, family planning and reforestation.

But Rajiv's briefcase-load of pet projects could change drastically in the future, because a prime ministership brings with it certain compulsions and concerns that a debutante heir-presumptive can ignore in pursuing the things that interest him. After all, the

Another will be his willingness to delegate, to encourage decisions to be taken at their proper levels, to reduce some of the bloated power of the prime minister's secretariat. In the initial months, his own novitiate status and lack of years will force him to listen, to let others also do the running. But the style that he sets after that will be crucial: will he attract the best and the brightest, and (unlike his mother) will he listen to them and let them function?

His cabinet at the moment is largely inherited, but there is significance to the decision to hive off the Department of Company Affairs (which handles the monopolies, law and corporate matters) from the Ministry of Law and Justice and to tack it on to the Industry Ministry. L.K. Jha suggested this two years ago, but opposition within the cabinet prevented Mrs Gandhi from implementing a proposal that was seen as aimed at making the Government more pro-industry. Rajiv has also taken the overdue step of separating the two alley-cats in Rail Bhawan, moving C.K. Jaffer Sharief to irrigation so that he does not cross A.B.A. Ghani Khan Chowdhury.

In recent months, Rajiv has also spoken of bolstering institutions that have lost some of their strength or been compromised, including that of the governor, of shifting policy priorities in the field of industrial development, of doing something to make individual-oriented programmes (like the Integrated Rural Development Programme) more effective.

Many of his comments have been platitudinous, spotting problems rather than suggesting solutions, voicing concerns rather than charting out fresh paths. And there is little doubt that Rajiv Gandhi is still to acquire a total perspective of the country.

They say that success and power change people. In truth, they only show them up for what they are. So, despite all the information that is available about a gentleman who decided to be a politician, the nice guy whose halo has lost its purity in the course of his political baptism, the real Rajiv Gandhi will stand up only in the months to come when he finds that the buck stops in front of him.

—T.N. NINAN



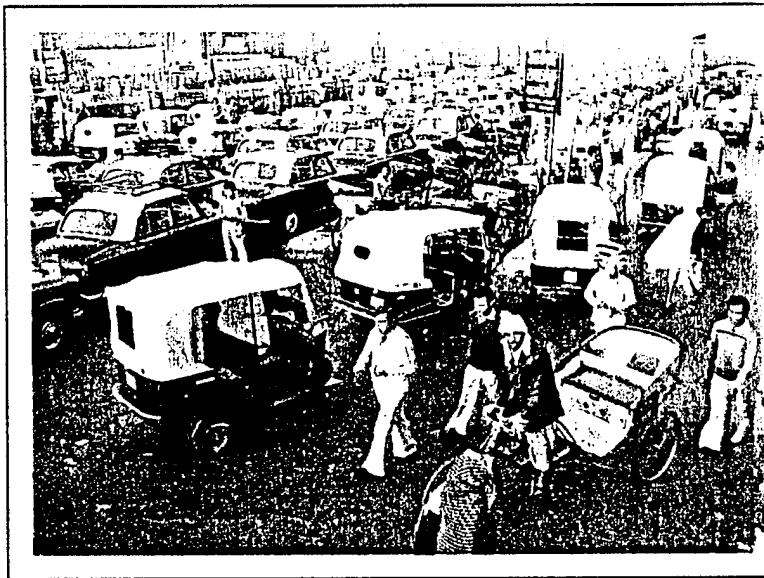
Electioneering Rajiv: facing arduous tasks ahead

Indira Gandhi of 1966 was hardly the person one would have expected to see nationalising industries across the board, superseding judges, or for that matter clapping her opponents in jail.

What will Rajiv Gandhi do as prime minister? Hold the elections quickly, perhaps, and maybe use a sympathy vote to try and give party tickets to the kind of people he would like to see in Parliament. He is unlikely to rock the boat too much, and the changes are likely to be at a measured pace rather than drastic, made after the pros and cons have been weighed, and all the advice listened to. Relatively new to politics, and entirely new to administration, he may well lean on old-time administrators while he learns the ropes.

A key test will be the men he chooses to guide him in this education.

RAJIV THE SON



By Joseph Lelyveld

ON THE FIRST DAY FOLLOWING THE PERIOD OF official mourning for the murdered Prime Minister, his sole surviving son and dynastic heir struck what he plainly intended to be a keynote for his new-old regime. In a television talk that had been written for him by a friend who happened to be an advertising man, he said: "Our administrative system must become more goal-oriented. A new work ethic, a new work culture must be evolved in which the government is result-bound and not procedure-bound. Reward and punishment must be related to performance." The next day, meeting senior civil servants, he decried the "unnecessary politicization of administration." Then, having raised his sails, he immediately called a national election.

The phrases that were found for 40-year-old Rajiv Gandhi were plucked from a different mental universe.

Joseph Lelyveld, a New York Times correspondent in India from 1966 to 1969, is a staff writer for The Times Magazine.

from the one his mother, Indira Gandhi, had inhabited. But what were they promising? A new ethic and a new culture in a country as old and tradition-bound as India? A managerial revolution from the top? That seemed a farfetched proposition, to put it mildly, and one that was unlikely to evoke much of a response in India's more than 530,000 villages. And what, really, did these imported platitudes have to do with the traumatic passage that Rajiv Gandhi personally, and India as a whole, had just made? How would "goal-oriented" administration ease the steadily deepening alienation of the Sikh minority or end the cycle of vengeance in the Punjab that had led directly to the assassination? What would a "result-bound" Indian government do in the field of population control? Would it preserve the parliamentary system?

Intrusive questions along these lines missed the point that struck many Indians immediately. The new Prime Minister, they understood, was responding to hopes for a new start. Without being unfilial, he seemed to recognize that, whatever the grief for Indira Gandhi and the ghastly way her life ended, India was not mourning the era called the Indira Raj that had suddenly come to an end. It was looking less for continuity than for renewal.

Indira Gandhi had related rewards and punishments strictly to political loyalty. She had systematically undercut parties and leaders — even leaders in her own party — when they threatened to establish a strong regional base. Venality worried her less than initiative; a politician obsessed with deals and payoffs was less of a threat to her increasingly narrow and personal sense of national leadership than a politician concerned with policies. Civil servants concerned with carrying out policies didn't

long survive when they got in the way of politicians who had shown their loyalty. In this climate, politics increasingly became a matter of access to influence, and problems festered because decisions could not be made. The perennial problem of the Punjab thus became the crisis of the Punjab — and finally the tragedy of Indira Gandhi — not so much because basic, unreconcilable interests were in conflict but because factional political interests were permitted to forestall a resolution over a period of months, then years. It was, after all, a fatal management failure.

RAJIV GANDHI'S OWN ROLE IN THE Punjab and present understanding of what went wrong there remain matters of intense speculation; his initial public statements as Prime Minister consistently avoided such questions and refused all requests for interviews during the mourning period. But, three years out of the cockpit of an Indian Airlines turboprop, he seemed to be signaling his impatience with the crassest features of his political inheritance. So far, he has offered only words, fresh new exhortations wrapped in muddled old exhortations — Indian political leaders sometimes seem to earn their living by exhorting — but Jawaharlal Nehru's grandson and Indira Gandhi's son was trying to come on as a reformer.

The widespread readiness to accept this largely unknown and wholly untested young dynast in those terms seemed to me to show the depth of the sense that things had gone very wrong with the institutions of Indian democracy before the assassination; to demonstrate how deeply many Indians wanted to believe in a possibility, any possibility, for reform. Watching him at the last rites for his mother, I wondered whether Indians would take this dignified, self-contained figure in a Gandhi cap and homespun pajamas to be a pudgier version of the young Nehru. He had, I

thought, the sort of bland good looks that a Bombay movie director might look for if he were casting the part; and movies made in Bombay for the mass audience, I remembered, always have happy endings, occasionally by dint of reincarnation following a violent death. But the succession of Rajiv Gandhi was, obviously, no triumph for the democratic institutions his grandfather had nurtured. Indeed, his own commitment to democratic practices and institutions had to be taken on faith, as much as the assumption that he had the capacity to grow in the job.

A reluctant politician, a neophyte in his third year in Parliament, the new Prime Minister was suddenly, as a result of his lineage, the single Indian among 730 million who could be said to have national standing as a political leader. This was a measure not only of his mother's dynastic ambitions but also of the shadow this withdrawn yet willful woman cast over Indian democracy during 15 out of the last 18 years, the years that she reigned as Prime Minister.

That was practically as long as her father had reigned. Before his death, the politicians and press had harped continually on the question: "After Nehru, who?" Three or four strong possibilities were usually mentioned; the name of his daughter seldom was. Then, after Indira Gandhi established her dominance, eliminating all possible rivals from her party and Government, she seemed such a permanent fixture that the question of a succession was seldom raised. But there were always her sons; first Sanjay, the ruthless young power broker who died in a plane crash in 1980, and then Rajiv, his elder brother, who, until the age of 36, never showed the slightest interest in the family business. Now, at a time when it was impossible to discount rumors that there were would-be assassins sworn to eliminate the new Prime Minister, there was no obvious answer if anyone thought to ask: "After Rajiv, who?"

The dynasty had continued, but the dynasty was unlikely to be renewed for 25 years. Rajiv Gandhi has a wife, but she is Italian; he has a son and daughter, but they are adolescents. His Congress Party, held together until now by his mother's personality, would almost certainly disintegrate without him. Yet it remained the only Indian party with national strength facing a galaxy of regional opposition parties that have been chronically unable to present a stable alternative because of the competing personal claims made by the party leaders.

Before the assassination, hardly anyone thought Mrs. Gandhi could retain her majority, or do better than emerge with the largest bloc in an unstable coalition. Now, it seems possible that her party will be swept back to power in the election that is to begin Dec. 24. "Almost the only way she could have kept Congress in power was by dying in this spectacular fashion," an Indian editor contended.

Yet in various ways, the death of one member of the Nehru clan and the rise of another represents a break with the past, rather than continuity. Rajiv Gandhi is "midnight's child," to adapt the title of the Salman Rushdie novel — probably the most original recent novel to be inspired by India — whose central character is born at midnight on Aug. 15, 1947, the hour of independence. That is, Rajiv is the first Prime Minister to have come of age in independent India, without direct experience of the independence struggle or the hopes it aroused. (Actually, "midnight" came five days before his third birthday.) Even the Nehru era was just the backdrop to his childhood; he was not yet 20 when his grandfather died.

His lineage has absolutely everything to do with his inheritance of the Government, but now that he is where he is, his mother's ambiguous legacy of power, pride and intrigue is as much an obstacle for him to overcome as an advantage. It includes the mediocrity of leadership and the weakening of parties. It also includes the decay of administration and rise of violence as a negotiable currency in Indian political life, both of which were put on display after Mrs. Gandhi died. The testimony of Sikh refugees strongly indicated that officials of her own Congress Party, the nominal descendant of the movement that served as the instrument of

Mahatma Gandhi's campaigns of nonviolent resistance, had helped to instigate the mob violence that followed her death. No sane person could blame Mrs. Gandhi for her own murder, but some Indians seemed to see it as a judgment on her reign, on her readiness to gather allies where she found them, without regard for values or the long-range consequences for India. Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, the Sikh extremist whose campaign of terrorism in the Punjab provoked the fateful Indian Army assault last June on the fortress he had established inside the Golden Temple, the holiest Sikh shrine, had been initially recruited into politics by Sanjay Gandhi after his mother's fall from power in 1977.

THERE IS MUCH MORE TO THE PUNJAB story, but Bhindranwale can stand as a case study of what happened in Indian politics as Mrs. Gandhi mounted her return to power and then, after her amazing comeback at the polls in 1980, maneuvered to maintain it. Congress, her party, filled its campaign treasury with "black money," the undeclared income of dubious businessmen, and accepted the support of smugglers and criminals who earned immunity from the law by their loyalty to Indira. Across the Hindi belt of northern India, it recruited local gangsters as its campaign workers and even elected them to office. Where opposition parties took office in the states, Congress stood ready to bribe their supporters with office or cash to encourage them to defect.

"She pursued a scorched-earth policy," said Arun Shourie, a well-known journalist. "She had no loyalty to institutions," agreed Prem Shankar Jha, a New Delhi editor. That might be her epitaph.

In the middle of the 12-day period of official mourning, these judgments were repeated in print. "The criminalization of politics has lent a new respectability to violence," a columnist in the Indian Express could declare on the sixth morning after the assassination. "It was Mrs. Gandhi who presided over the degradation of politics and the rise of violence. She inherited her own legacy." In itself, the column was proof that Indira Gandhi, whatever her inclinations, had not snuffed out Indian democracy.

The theme — that she had been destroyed by her own fatal flaws as a leader, by a rottenness in the state that she had not resisted — belonged to Elizabethan or Jacobean tragedy. It was Rajiv, the new man, the unknown quantity who suggested the Hindi movie ending in which his party and country would be redeemed. For, by dying as Indira Gandhi did, she had transformed the political debate. The

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central issue was no longer whether she should be given five more years to promote a dynastic succession. The grief occasioned by her death was conspicuously less intense than that which surged up from the rural heartland when her father and his immediate successor, Lal Bahadur Shastri, died. But she was now safely beyond attack, a figure for history, already mythic. The new issue was whether there was anyone in all of India who offered a better chance than Rajiv Gandhi to restore the institutions she was alleged to have undermined or that were undermined, if not by her, then by steadily intensifying social strife in Indian life during the period called the Indira Raj.

I COULD NOT THINK MY way through to the future, Rajiv Gandhi's and India's, without first looking back. Indira Gandhi's death had returned me to India for the first time in 10 years; 15 years had passed since I lived there. If her story, taken at its deepest level of meaning, could be regarded as a tragedy, then I was there for the first act and the final scene. There was much that I no longer understood, much that I had never learned, but some contrasts were clear in my mind.

First, there was the contrast between the self-perpetuating dynastic figure she became and the painfully insecure woman she usually seemed when she was just getting used to her job as Prime Minister. And then there was the contrast be-

tween the India she inherited and the India she bequeathed.

She changed Indian politics, but she did not change India. It is not even clear that she thought it possible to change India. What she did believe, almost as a creed, was that no one else in Indian public life was capable of offering the kind of national leadership that was needed to hold the country together. The origins of this conviction are obscure. A woman of refined sensibility, she did not appear to derive personal gratification from wielding power; she clung to it as a duty. Maybe, in the beginning, it had to do with a vague sense that only she could keep India on the course her father set for it as a nonaligned state, committed to the rapid development of technology and heavy industry, to parliamentary democracy and secularism, and a kind of Fabian socialism. But then, one by one, she bent or abandoned most of his premises without letting go of her sense of her own role.

She never seemed to like politicians, especially Indian politicians, as a class of people. She also didn't care for people who approached her with agendas, unsolicited advice or strong arguments. She found it hard to delegate authority, preferring to see it lie unused rather than run the risk that it might be used in ways that would weaken her position. She was, one of her many critics remarked to me after her death, "a leader without goals."

I got my clearest insight into her attitudes in the last conversation I ever had with her. I had traveled with her entourage on an overnight campaign swing; flying back to Delhi early the next morning on an Indian Air Force transport, I was invited to enter her compartment at the rear of the plane for a conversation while she picked at her breakfast, a small portion of plain boiled potatoes.

All that sticks in my mind now is an exchange about one of her cabinet colleagues who was presumed in those days to be a rival for her job. The man had a strong regional base in his home province, which compromised him in the eyes of the political barons from other sections. I asked how such a man could achieve status as a national leader, how India would find its leaders when it ran out of Nehrus. A little ungallantly, since Mrs. Gandhi was then only 51, I raised the question of the succession. Between bites, she plainly indicated her contempt for her colleague. The man lacked courage, she said. None of them had it.

"Do you think any of them," she went on, referring to her party's most powerful figures, "could hold this thing together?"

"You mean the Congress Party?" I ventured.

"I mean India," she said wearily, as if she found it a trial to explain the obvious.

She meant India, when six months later she split the Congress Party, shattering the national movement her father had helped build, rather than conceding that it could override her in choosing a candidate for the ceremonial office of President. She meant India, when she declared the emergency rather than submit to the rule of the courts, which were about to banish her from office for election irregularities. She meant India, when, starting to rebuild her party after she was turned out of office in 1977, she accepted without question the alliances her son Sanjay made in her name. "Indira is India, India is Indira," one of her sycophants proclaimed during the emergency. She retained a sense of proportion and would never have put it that way herself, but in some mystical way, it was what she believed.

LOOKING AT WHAT happened to India in the same period, it is possible to invent a justification. The biggest difference between 1984 and 1966, the year Indira Gandhi came to power, is that there are 250 million more Indians; the figure bears repeating — 250 million!

Yet India, which could not prevent famine then, even with American food aid, now has a modest exportable surplus. It also takes less aid. Indira Gandhi felt humiliated by Lyndon Johnson, who made her plead for each shipment of wheat and proclaimed early on that India had to strive for self-reliance. Foreign aid accounted for 4.5 percent of the gross national product then; now it is down to scarcely 1 percent. The rate of economic growth has finally risen, and, although some economists are skeptical about the calculation, it now appears to be holding steady at above 4.5 percent a year.

In an era of spiraling debt for oil-importing nations, India started to exploit offshore deposits and managed to hold external debt at a manageable level, about one-fourth that of Mexico. Among the elite, there is a sense that India has shown the world that it is a regional power, not "a basket case." A new monied class, produced by a liberalized economy, isn't embarrassed about flaunting its wealth. The Mercedes has arrived as a status symbol.

But the most that can be said for efforts to ease conditions of absolute poverty under the Indira Raj is that famine has been banished. As was the case 30 years ago, almost half the population remains desperately poor, with less than \$8 a month per capita for the necessities of life; in the bottom 10 percent, where malnutrition persists,

it is less than \$4 — the price of a light lunch in one of Delhi's fancy new hotels, which are thronged more by Indians than by tourists.

India has kept pace, if you talk only in terms of percentages, but the number of the very poor continues to mount in absolute terms by about 20,000 every single day. The country's population has doubled since Independence. The number of the very poor has doubled, too. In the 18 years since the start of the Indira Raj, the literacy rate crept up to 44 percent, a gain of maybe 10 percentage points. But, inevitably, the rise in population means there are more illiterates than ever — about 75 million more.

More rich, more poor, more middle-class — more everything, including corruption and violence. An India of 730 million is harder to govern than the India of 360 million that existed at Independence. Party affiliations are temporary mailing addresses that can always be changed; parties change names, change memberships, break up into factions and then recombine, as local subcaste or religious groups seize an opportunity to press a grievance or grab a little patronage, a chance to be among the bribed rather than among the bribers. It was a process Indira Gandhi had to master to sustain her idea of national leadership; in mastering it, she attracted to her side some of the shadiest, least-principled elements in Indian politics. There was nothing very edifying about the Congress Party machine that existed in my time in India, but it still reached down to the villages and, out of the maelstrom of competing demands, shaped a sense of national needs.

If there had been no Indira Gandhi, the Congress Party would probably have faded as a national movement and India might have seen a series of unstable coalitions at the national level, made up

of strong regional parties. Maybe this would have led to military rule. Maybe it would have stimulated new alignments and leadership. Indira Gandhi postponed for a generation that inevitable testing time for Indian institutions, but to do so she had to keep the regional parties weak and off balance.

That was part of her preoccupation in the Punjab, India's most prosperous state, where Sikh politicians for two decades have reflexively used religion and trumped-up religious grievances as levers for their own advancement. No one could say the 14 million Sikhs were discriminated against as a group. They had more than their share of places in the Indian Army and the bureaucracy; they were among the country's most successful farmers and businessmen. But they had a dream of a Sikh state, and, while only a tiny fringe spoke of independence, most Sikhs subscribed to the idea that the Punjab — or rather what remained of the old colonial province after two partitions — should be dominated by Sikhs. As a creed, the Sikh faith was gentle and mystical, but the creed was wrapped up in the militant struggle of a self-conscious minority to preserve itself in the pre-colonial era against both the caste system and the pressure of Islam as promoted by the Mogul emperors. Delhi, the capital, was the main source of this pressure. Martyrs achieved sainthood by withstanding it.

Playing on that paradigm, and the tradition of symbolic politics bequeathed by another, greater Gandhi, leaders of a Sikh party called the Akali Dal routinely threatened martyrdom. Until Bhindranwale, it always seemed that martyrdom was a ploy. Then the game got out of hand.

Amarender Singh, the son of the last Maharajah of Patiala and a Sikh member of Parliament in Mrs. Gandhi's party until the assault on the

Golden Temple, when he resigned, is convinced that Mrs. Gandhi and her son, a friend from school days, were both genuinely seeking a settlement until February. "Then it was decided that they were not going to concede anything further," he says. "The attitude was, 'Let's be tough.'"

After the troops seized the Golden Temple on June 6, having had to use tanks and mortars to quell the extremists, there was a short-lived sense of jubilation in the Prime Minister's inner circle. By finally acting decisively, it was felt, she had turned the tide in an election year. But some who knew the Sikh traditions of martyrdom and vendetta said even then that she had sealed her own fate.

The operation was launched without any serious effort to prepare Sikh opinion, with key decisions taken in Mrs. Gandhi's closed inner circle. No one, it appears, gave consideration to the fact that she was sending her forces into the temple in a holy week commemorating the martyrdom in 1606 of one of the revered Sikh gurus at the hands of the Moguls of Delhi. The symbolism was perfect for Bhindranwale, slated for his own martyrdom in the assault, and the alienation of Sikhs generally. "Can you imagine a more stupid thing?" asked Lieut. Gen. Jagjit Singh Aurora, a national hero at the time of the 1971 war with Pakistan, when he had command of the Indian troops that took over what later became Bangladesh.

TO GRASP THE political burdens and opportunities Rajiv Gandhi inherits, it helps to consider the trauma that prominent Sikhs like General Aurora have been through. Accustomed to moving easily in the mainstream of Indian life, they felt cut off from their community and from India in the aftermath of the assassination. General Aurora couldn't stay safely in his own home in an upper-

class neighborhood in New Delhi, where mobs gutted 35 Sikh homes. He couldn't drive safely in his car. All over the city, families with the name Singh — which forms part of every Sikh name — took down the nameplates on their gates, even those who weren't Sikhs.

By the time the army was given the authority to deal with the mobs, reports were accumulating from refugees who repeatedly named local officials in the governing party, including several members of Parliament, as instigators. One member of Parliament, Dharam Dass Shastri, was reported to have gone to a police station to demand the release of looters. It was all right to recover stolen goods, he was quoted as saying, but, "there is no need to arrest. These people are not criminals."

I went to see Mr. Shastri, a short, nervous man who chewed beetlenut, tapped his foot incessantly and protested his love for Sikhs, for all human beings, for the ideals of Indira Gandhi ("our mother"), for the "vision" of Rajiv Gandhi, for poetry — German poetry, Sanskrit poetry, any poetry — for the soul, peace and the Congress Party. If he had been behind the riots, he assured me, the whole of Delhi would have burned. But how could it be imagined that a man in his high position would stoop so low as to encourage rampaging "animals," he asked, especially when he knew that "tomorrow we have to face election music"?

Whatever the merits of the accusation or the defense, it was evident that Dharam Dass Shastri had suddenly become aware that there was a new current running through Congress. Hand-picked by Sanjay Gandhi on the strength of his loyalty to Sanjay's mother during her spell in the wilderness, he now seemed to fear that loyalty might not be enough to get him chosen again as a

candidate. He was not a Sanjay man, not a member of any clique, he protested. He was against "groupism" in the party. He was even collecting testimonials from Sikhs to show the party's new leader who, he seemed to fear, might be inclined to jettison him as a candidate.

That might be unkind to Mr. Shastri, but a few such excommunications would send a signal to anxious Sikhs and to the nation at large that the new Prime Minister is serious about cleaning up his party and upgrading Indian public life.

Rajiv Gandhi's most obvious handicap, his inexperience, is also a strength. He cannot possibly be blamed for the autocratic actions his mother and brother took during the emergency, when he was flying for Indian Airlines, raising his children and staying as far out of politics as he possibly could. Friends who met him regularly in those days never heard him express himself one way or the other on political issues. To this day, no one seems to know whether he ever talked politics with Sanjay — the favored younger brother with whom his relations are said to have been sometimes difficult — and that uncertainty is enough to give him the benefit of the doubt among many who believe that India is now crying for a determined rooting out of the venality and malpractices that came to characterize the Indira Raj.

Rajiv Gandhi is the newest face in Indian politics, and politicians sense that if he surrounds himself with other new faces, or some old faces that his mother had banished, and otherwise distances himself from her record while invoking her name, he can, in effect, run as a reformer against his own party — and win.

That is basically the tactic that Indira Gandhi herself employed in her 1971 victory, promising to "abolish poverty." The belief that a reformer's stance could be more than tactical in the case

of her son derives from the views that are broadly ascribed to Rajiv Gandhi on the strength of rumor, surmise and wishful thinking. All these are necessary to deepen the faint impression he seems to have left after three years in Indian public life, which he entered after his brother's death because, as he put it in an early interview, "Mummy has to be helped somehow."

From the facts that he studied mechanical engineering at Cambridge and went on to be a pilot, it is deduced that he has a technical bent. If this "midnight's child" carries any ideological baggage, it contains contemporary doctrines of management; that is to say, he cares about systems and efficiency. Before he inherited the Government, he attracted some mockery for attempting to use computers to streamline his party's election preparations.

In the economic sphere, India's sixth Prime Minister has paid lip service to socialism, but he is likely, if India's voters give him a mandate, to accelerate a process of reducing controls on the private sector that has been under way in recent years. Instead of having state-owned industries run by civil servants, as has been the practice in India, he is said to favor hiring industrial managers from private industry at competitive salaries.

Those who claim to know him say Rajiv is intelligent and amiably good-humored. "He is a much more confident person than Indira was in 1966," commented a friend who has known him since Cambridge. He is also said to have some of his grandfather Nehru's shortness of temper when confronted by sloth or mismanagement. From such adumbrations of a personality, it is reasoned that he might be secure enough, unlike his mother, to delegate authority to persons with initiative.

THE JOB OF INDIAN Prime Minister is arguably the world's greatest managerial challenge, but the dreamy image of Indira Gandhi's son sweeping out New Delhi's Augean stables needs some focusing. As a practical matter, Rajiv Gandhi must know that his Congress Party cannot be made new overnight. A wholesale purge of the party's more dubious elements could endanger its electoral base because, in most parts of the country, it has no organization at all at the grass roots. Engineering his mother's last victory, Sanjay Gandhi found persons of local influence who knew how to get out the vote (or, in opposition areas, keep it home), without being overly fastidious about what kind of influence they had or what they might ask in return. Even before the assassination of his mother, Rajiv Gandhi had begun a series of intensive interviews of prospective parliamentary candidates in order to shape a party that would be responsive to his

leadership. But he still has to consider the possibility that those he purges may end up on the other side.

His newness, his youth and the traumatic circumstances in which he inherited his burden will arouse sympathy and hope. Naturally, the voters want their happy ending. But Rajiv Gandhi is unlikely to be galvanizing as a campaigner. An intensely private person, he shrinks from displaying emotion in public. His brief statements on television in the aftermath of the assassination sounded strangely uninflected, as if they were coming not from a bereaved son or a leader suddenly laden with heavy responsibilities but from an official spokesman reading out a communiqué that a committee had drafted.

His political judgment, values and ability are also open to question because he appears to have been implicated, in varying degrees, in recent Congress efforts to bribe or otherwise lure potential defectors from the governing parties in Kashmir, Karnataka and Andhra states to bring down the local governments. The Kashmir "toppling" succeeded; the Karnataka one failed, and the Andhra one boomeranged badly, inspiring mass protests in the state that soon forced the return to office of the ousted chief minister, a former movie idol named N. T. Rama Rao, who now may emerge as a pivotal figure in the efforts of a fragmented opposition to form an election alliance against the Congress Party. A couple of weeks before the assassination caused Indian commentators to look at Rajiv Gandhi with new respect, the nation's leading news weekly spoke in an offhand way of "the almost universal realization that Rajiv Gandhi has fallen far short of expectations and is no substitute for his mother."

It has all happened so fast — the assassination, Rajiv Gandhi's virtually instantaneous succession as Prime Minister (which happened before the Parliamentary Party could meet or vote), and now the national campaign. Rajiv Gandhi can hardly have had time to mourn or reflect, let alone to find strong advisers he can trust to bring unwelcome news or unpalatable advice, neither of which secured entree to Indira Gandhi's court. Until now, his tiny circle of political confidants has been made up almost entirely of friends he knew in school, either at Cambridge or at the Doon School, India's version of Groton or St. Paul's. His two most important aides, whom he promptly installed in key party positions, are Doon School contemporaries, Arun Singh and Arun Nehru, a cousin. Like Rajiv, they appear to be serious, well-intentioned, uncomplicated and relatively remote from the harsh social and political realities of India.

Their India is essentially urban; their social circle, the business elite. These are early days, but it is hard to imagine Rajiv Gandhi ever feeling the need for the kind of communion with the rural masses on which his grandfather and also his mother depended to renew their sense of India and their own role. Wearing homespun, a shawl or what used to be called a Nehru jacket is a political duty; friends say he is more comfortable in blazers and jeans. What political onlookers in New Delhi are watching as an index of his political resourcefulness is whether the new Prime Minister will reach out beyond the two Aruns — or his mother's old palace guard, which he has so far retained — or whether they will form the nucleus of a new inner court, rendering him permanently remote.

Charan Singh, an 82-year-old opposition leader who was briefly Prime Minister when the non-Congress coalition that swept to power in 1977 crumbled two years later, touched on the question of remoteness when I asked him about the political prospects of Indira Gandhi's son: "He's educated, but he's not acquainted with the problems that face this poor country or their possible solution. A good young man, that's all that can be said. But what does this young man know about administration? He couldn't even be a successful chairman of a municipal corporation."

I recognized that patronizing tone. It always came up in conversations in my time in India with the senior political leaders who installed Indira Gandhi in office because they could not resolve their own rivalries for her job. Later, it changed to resentment when they discovered they could not get her out. But then it was too late.

Charan Singh, who has strong support in the rural heartland of north India, is a potential ally in two senses. As much as any other single factor, it is the old man's craving to be Prime Minister again that has kept the oppo-

sition divided. If it stays divided and Congress fails to hold its majority, it is not unthinkable that Charan Singh would be willing to enter a government headed by "this young man." The death of Indira Gandhi and her replacement by a son who is the object, as yet, of nobody's grievances makes possible all sorts of new alignments in Indian politics — before the election, after the election, over the next few years.

Changing planes on my way to New Delhi, I had grabbed a bunch of English newspapers and read their commentaries on the death of Indira Gandhi. All the ones I saw credited her with having held India together, implying that it might now fly apart if her son failed to repeat the feat. It was, I thought, an unconscious reprise of the old colonial theme that the nation-state called India was strictly an invention of her colonizers, fashioned from the primordial anarchy of Hindustan. That jogged my memory, reminding me of an Indira Gandhi I admired, the proud nationalist who wheeled one morning in 1967 on the correspondent of a British paper and scathingly said: "You people never thought we could do it. You're always expecting us to collapse."

The correspondent had laid himself open to this skewering by indulging himself in print in a categorical forecast that the general election that had just taken place would prove to have been India's last exercise in democracy. In the near future, he predicted, the country would be taken over by a man on a white horse or a man on a cow, meaning either the army or Hindu chauvinists. From the distance of 1984,

there were a lot of ironies in this memory. The election due to be held in three weeks will be the fourth national election since 1967. It wasn't a man on horseback but rather Indira Gandhi herself who threatened to terminate Indian democracy. And, whatever was thought in London when she died, she appears to have been practically alone in India in thinking she was holding the country together.

Others, just as simplistically, no doubt, said it was she who was keeping India from focusing on her real problems of social misery, the decay of institutions and violence. "She showed us that she wasn't the solution," said Arun Shourie, the well-known journalist, "but we must learn that she wasn't the problem, either." ■

Rajiv grasps a violent legacy, but can he unite India?

Dynasty or division

By Richard Nations in New Delhi



The public cremation of India's national leader is a moment in this intensely emotional country to sink political differences in a shared outpouring of grief. But the assassination on Wednesday 31 October of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by two Sikh bodyguards triggered the worst wave of communal violence since Partition.

Street mobs — often thought to be instigated by the ruling Congress party workers — looted the homes of rich Sikhs and burned poor Sikhs alive. For nearly three days the administration collapsed, and the prestigious Indian Army was called into the capital only to remain curiously ineffective. By the time Mrs Gandhi's son and successor, Rajiv, lit the funeral pyre on Saturday, the capital was dominated by fear and anxiety.

Mrs Gandhi left behind a country more deeply divided than when she first came to office 18 years ago. And it is not clear whether Rajiv's swift ascendance to power the day of his mother's murder is a solution to the crisis, or another symptom of it. Rajiv inherits all the authority of the Nehru dynasty and the power of his mother, and the continuity has reassured the country.

Rajiv is as much an enigma to Indians as he is to foreigners. He first shunned politics, and since his mother brought him into national life following his brother Sanjay's death four years ago, he has not even held a cabinet seat.

This apparently leaves him uncommitted to any particular course. And while the attendance of 60 world leaders at the funeral was a fitting tribute to Mrs Gandhi's ambition to enhance India's prestige, everyone was watching for clues of which direction Rajiv would take the country.

He could follow the path laid down by his mother, go for quick elections in January and cash in on the sympathy vote wave which some here think will probably compensate for the ground lost to Congress after Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister N. T. Rama Rao successfully campaigned to defy Mrs Gandhi's efforts to topple his Telugu Desam party government. A fresh five-year mandate with a majority — if not the two-thirds of seats Congress now holds — in the lower house would give Rajiv time to consolidate.

This is the easy course, but not necessarily the safest. Despite two years as one of the party's general secretaries, Rajiv has very few of his own men, and many Congress MPs were nominated by Sanjay for the 1980 general election. A snap election will leave him little time to choose his own men and efforts to take party tickets away from sitting MPs could provoke a revolt among the "Sanjay men." Moreover, Rajiv would have to prove his appeal in a national campaign at a time when the temper of the country threatens escalating electoral violence.

Moreover, quick elections would commit Rajiv to his mother's strategy of exploiting the "Hindu backlash" in the five Hindi-belt states of the north which control 220 of the 542 lower

house seats. This in turn would reduce his scope for lowering the confrontation with Pakistan, seeking some resolution of the Punjab crisis and pursuing an accommodation with the regional forces in the south, and non-Hindi speaking states of Assam, Jammu and Kashmir and West Bengal — all of which are in various stages of revolt against domination by the centre.

Even an electoral victory in January could prove a hollow one for Rajiv if he is not able to bring his own men into parliament on the strength of his proven campaign appeal. A Congress majority dominated by "Sanjay men" would make Rajiv more dependent on parliamentary MPs than the other way around. And this would encourage him to rely upon his mother's methods of granting real influence to an unaccountable coterie of personal advisers to strip power from potential rivals in the cabinet and party.

The alternative is to rise above politics, take bold initiatives and make a clean break with the past. Opposition politicians suggest a number of steps which could transform the nation's psychology and the post-Indira situation overnight. First would be to declare a national day of mourning, and full compensation for all those who suffered during the latest round of communal violence. This would have to be matched by a thorough and convincing investigation which brought to book all those in the police, administration and party responsible for the riots.

Next would be to tackle the Punjab

problem head on by releasing the state's Akali Dal political leadership from jail with a broad appeal to the religious and political leadership of the nation's Sikhs to resolve the Punjab crisis and get the army out of the state. This would be complemented by an open response to Pakistani President Zia-ul Haq's call to negotiate a no-war treaty. Finally Rajiv could launch a call to all political parties to round table discussions to address the crisis of centre-state relations.

"If Rajiv came forward with such appeals in a time of national crisis, no politician could afford not to respond," commented Inder Gujral, a Janata Party politician and secretary-general of the United Front coalition of opposition parties. "Rajiv could suddenly be in command."

The death of Mrs Gandhi has created new uncertainties for many of the national opposition parties, which are national in name only but in reality led by personalities driven out of the old Congress party by Mrs Gandhi during her 1969 and 1977 purges. "We have lost our platform," one former Congress oppositionist said candidly, implying that it was only Mrs Gandhi's methods and personality that justified their separate political identity. There is already a move afoot to restore "Congress culture," and Gujral — Mrs Gandhi's information minister who left the party when the Emergency was declared in 1975 — thinks that many old Congressmen would go along with postponing elections if Rajiv makes a serious fresh start. With practically a two-thirds majority in both houses, the Congress can now amend the constitution to extend the life of parliament from the present five years to six or seven years. This option is being pressed by some of Rajiv's advisers as the most practical course.

This, however, would only be a first step. "If he desires to achieve results rather than just create the appearance

of moving resolutely in some particular direction," the former editor of the *Statesman* (the national English-language daily) Pran Chopra commented: "He'll have to revive the institution which Mrs Gandhi so thoroughly undermined." In practice this means restoring Congress' tradition of inner-party democracy, decentralising control of electoral funds, restoring full authority to cabinet ministers and abolishing the prime minister's private secretariat which exercises real power but was accountable only to Mrs Gandhi. And this is only the beginning of a process to reverse the decade-long trend towards demoralisation of the Indian Civil Service, the politicisation of the police, the sycophancy of the judiciary, and the political abuse of presidential powers.

This would oblige Rajiv voluntarily to yield much of the power Mrs Gandhi gathered into the prime minister's office, which in form appeared to rely upon the checks and balances of a Westminster parliamentary system, but in practice wielded far greater power than the White House — United States presidents rarely have the reliable rubberstamp legislature the pliable Congress majority in the Lok Sabha assured Mrs Gandhi.

It would require broad vision on the part of Mrs Gandhi's son to realise that this continental-sized country with its 14 official languages, three major religious communities and a multitude of castes and tribes cannot be ruled by one person. Rajiv's grandfather and India's first prime minister, Jawarhalal Nehru, understood this clearly. For him, democratic principles and rule of law had a very practical application in India, since order in this violent but essentially hierarchical line could only be maintained by prestige. Nehru's daughter, however, identified herself with India, and substituted herself for the chaotic democ-

racy and delicate federal balance necessary to India's cohesion.

Rajiv has too much common sense to believe the party slogans he repeats about the external threats to India. India has never been more secure and economically stable since partition. But Rajiv was probably too close to his mother to be aware that the crisis India faces today is fundamentally political, and springs from the tension between the demands for recognition and prestige by the humble and insecure who have prospered in modern India, and Mrs Gandhi's own refusal to cede power or autonomy to any leaders she could not control.

Nor could Rajiv be expected to see that his mother's assassination by two low-caste Sikhs — for whom the beard and turban was their only defence against the degradation of Hindu untouchability — was a consequence of her inability to comprehend that she was part of India's political crisis.

For Mrs Gandhi, the attack on the Golden Temple in June was simply another power gambit in the struggle against Punjabi autonomy she had long waged in the name of Indian unity. Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, the Sikh fundamentalist who took armed refuge in the sanctity of the Golden Temple to defy the government — had after all been a creation of the current president, Zail Singh, in the late 1970s when the latter was an out-of-power Congress politician in Punjab who needed an orthodox Sikh fanatic such as Bhindranwale to sow division among his rivals in the Sikh Akali Dal party then in power in Chandigarh. For Mrs Gandhi, the Golden Temple operation was a calculated risk to dispose of a nuisance which would also enhance her popularity among the Hindus in the populous neighbouring states.

She could not understand that by defiling their most sacred shrine, the Indian Army attacked the fundamental

identity of a fiercely proud but basically insecure Indian minority. That mistake cost her her life and sowed the seeds of a new communal crisis which set the tone of ugliness and violence in the opening hours of the Rajiv era. To the end, Mrs Gandhi persisted in the belief that Sikhs were divided into extremists and those loyal to India. She refused to take the advice of the intelligence bureau to remove the Sikhs from her bodyguard, because it violated her image of secular India as one nation, which in reality was grievously damaged by her Golden Temple gambit.

"It's a strange blend of innocence and arrogance. She thought everyone who knew her loved her," said Sikh historian Kushwant Singh. "The names of those two assassins will be read into the scroll of martyrs for years to come. It is the greatest honour of the Sikh to give his life to preserve the sanctity of the temple."

Rajiv has revealed no taste for power. He preferred the secure middle-class life of an airline pilot to his claim on the Nehru heritage to run India. When his mother summoned him to politics to fill his younger brother Sanjay's shoes after the latter's death in 1980, Rajiv delayed long enough to get his licence to fly large jets, just in case politics did not work out for him. Over the past two years he has failed to establish a clear-cut political personality. His occasional efforts to savage the opposition and the recent hard line on Pakistan are seen as basically an extension of his mother's will to toughen up his rather bland image. "Rajiv just doesn't seem to have the ambition or the streak of the hoodlum necessary to inspire fear," an opposition politician commented.

After the trauma of his mother's murder, the prospect of ruling India may well draw Rajiv towards Nehru's view that there is safety in institutions, if more out of a sense of self-protection than the wider vision of India Nehru held. In the long run Rajiv can be expected to look for more reliable methods than his mother's to insulate himself from the violent forces which destroyed her. At the moment it can only be an instinct, since Mrs Gandhi's death drew Rajiv into a vacuum of power she left behind, with the administration in a state of collapse.

In his first 48 hours in power Rajiv made three critical decisions which left him more the prisoner of events than master of them. By the end of the week his chances for a fresh break with the past were substantially diminished.

Within four hours of the official announcement of Mrs Gandhi's death at 2:55 p.m. on 31 October, Rajiv was sworn in by President Zail Singh as the country's new prime minister. This broke the precedent of appointing the senior most cabinet minister for an interim period to give time for the par-

liamentary party to meet and select a new leader. But that precedent dates from Nehru's time when the party held real elections. And Rajiv faced no real challenge in the party, nor even in the country. The job was his for the taking, but the timing was crucial.

As it turned out, he stepped in too soon, before he could make a difference but in time too take full responsibility for the bloodshed triggered by Mrs Gandhi's death. His next decision was to set the date for Mrs Gandhi's funeral for the following Saturday to allow time enough for foreign leaders to arrive. On the Saturday afternoon, Rajiv officiated at his mother's cremation, which turned out to be a first-class international affair.

But during the three days between Mrs Gandhi's death and her cremation Hindu mobs ruled the streets of the capital, and 80 other cities in the north, burning and massacring Sikhs and looting their shops and houses with the



Victim of Hindu violence: targets.

PHOTOS: UPI

apparent connivance of the police and ruling party.

Attacks on Sikhs began in the area near the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences shortly after Mrs Gandhi was taken there following the shooting. By late afternoon, attacks on Sikhs seemed to be the work of better organised gangs of predominantly young, poor and low-caste Hindus from the slums and the public housing estates. They spread throughout the upper middle class neighbourhoods looting wealthy Sikh homes and burning Sikh temples, killing at random any Sikh men, who are easily distinguished by their beards and turbans.

The police stood by and watched. Sikh police constables, who make up about 20% of the force, were confined to quarters, officially for their own protection. The Hindu patrols were left on the street and members fraternised with the mobs and singled out the homes of wealthy Sikhs to raid and

burn down. That evening reported that a gang from the other side of the city located their house with the aid of an electoral list.

"There was no passion or hatred inspiring the mobs," Kushwant Singh said in describing the casual air of a gang of 30-odd from a "sweepers" colony near his home which looted and burned a Sikh temple in the neighbourhood before clubbing to death four young Sikhs. "They were just using the excuse of Sikhs killing Mrs Gandhi to have a leisurely 'burn out' on the town." Singh could identify their leader as the local Congress party worker from the nearby "sweepers" colony, which has been a Congress stronghold since Mahatma Gandhi chose this "untouchable" area to make his home when he first moved to New Delhi.

On Thursday the targets became poor Sikh men as well as the property of rich Sikhs and killings were particularly vicious east of the Jumuna River in the resettlement areas which have been loyal to the Congress party since Sanjay bulldozed the slums during the emergency and resettled the poor in public housing estates. The trans-Jumuna area is a major recruitment area for the "party workers" who fill out the ranks of the pro-Sanjay Youth Congress and National Students Union of India.

That afternoon, 14 Sikh men, according to the relative of one, were dragged into the streets, where their beards and hair were shaved off. They were stripped naked and forced to dance and yell "mona, mona" (unshaven Sikh) before a jeering crowd of more than 100 low-caste Hindus. After an hour of public humiliation and torture with sharp rods, all 14 were drenched in kerosene and burnt alive. Such scenes were repeated several times until the death toll in the east Delhi resettlement areas for Thursday alone probably totalled more than 100. That night more than 200 burnt bodies were piled in the yard of the morgue in old Delhi.

The decision to call in the army was not taken until Thursday afternoon, and even then only under restrictions which hampered its effectiveness. Senior bureaucrats advised Rajiv that the situation was already out of control and order could only be restored if the army was called out under the Disturbed Areas Act, which allows the military to deploy and fire at discretion. Congress party politicians, however, argued that placing the capital under what is in effect martial law for the first time since independence would amount to admission of political failure at the outset of the new government.

The Congress leaders argued that a show of force was adequate to frighten the mobs, and that the army should only be deployed under the Aid to Civil Authorities Act, which permits it to

fire only in self-defence or under the direct orders of a magistrate present. This view won the day but the compromise was an announcement publicised in the Friday morning newspapers that the army was deployed on "shoot-on-sight orders." This was inaccurate but designed for its deterrent effect. The result was the worst of both worlds. The public assumed that the army was in control as several battalions drove into the city on Friday morning. But the riots continued and the curfew was ineffective.

The army only got tough after Mrs Gandhi's funeral. As a result, fresh milk appeared in the market for the first time again on Sunday. But the failure to take control earlier was a blow to the morale of the army and the credibility of the Rajiv government. There was suspicion that the Congress Youth and Students Organisation, which had been heavily involved in the



Sikh refugees: 'Khalistan.'

rioting, put pressure on the cabinet through H. K. L. Bhagat, the information minister and leader of the Congress party in New Delhi, to avoid a tough curfew. And the way the mobs ignored the army for the first couple of days suggested that word had got about that their guns were not loaded.

By the end of the week the army set up safe areas for Sikh refugees but there were no blankets, water or medicines. Volunteer workers organised by opposition parties came to escort terrorised Sikhs to safety. The call for Khalistan, a separate homeland for Sikhs, was raised in most of the camps and in some of them refugees refused to accept anything from the government except a safe passage back to Punjab.

The political price Rajiv paid for his first week in power is still incalculable. A caretaker government could not have made the administration any less effective, but at least it would have al-

lowed Rajiv to devote himself to the funeral, and step in as order was being restored and take credit for it. As it is, Rajiv appeared decisive when it came to the matter of his own power, which anyway was not urgent, but ineffectual in the midst of the crisis. He still has public sympathy. But "after what's happened over the past three days I doubt the sympathy wave will last long," Janata Party leader Chandra Shekar commented. Other politicians have also taken Rajiv's measure during his first week. "He missed an opportunity to show himself as a strong leader with his own mind," L. K. Advani of the Bharatiya Janata Party said. "Instead he emerged as yet another one who falls back on his advisers."

It is far too early to assess Rajiv's first week in power in terms of his relations with the Sikhs. The only promising sign is that there have been no reports of Sikhs retaliating against Hindus in Punjab, where they are the majority. Khalistan's cause has received an enormous emotional boost and it could gain still greater momentum if large-scale transfers of population begin, with Sikhs returning to Punjab to drive Hindus out of their shops and homes there.

Further disaffection of the Sikhs would adversely effect the country way out of proportion to the small (2%) Sikh share of India's overall population. Sikhs account for 20% of the soldiers and 14% of the officers in the army, and though foreign military attachés detect no signs of disaffection among the Sikhs in the army, the events of early November could well have a long-term effect on security.

Foreign leaders were impressed by Mrs Gandhi's funeral. "Far better organised and brilliant than Sadat's," commented a European head of state. Many were also struck by Rajiv's dignified bearing. But Indians were far more ambivalent about the affair. The crowds were thin, there were no turbans to be seen and very few women; two elements that provide the colour and emotional charge to Indian public ceremonies were afraid to come out on the streets.

This was not the national event that Lal Bahadur Shastri or Nehru cremations were. The focus was on the family and the foreign leaders. Opposition party leaders were shoved aside.

The only emotional energy generated by the crowd came from Congress youth workers chanting "Indira immortal," the slogan which struck terror into the hearts of Sikhs over the previous three days. In some ways her departure was fitting since Mrs Gandhi's tough character and populist image appealed most to both foreign leaders and the poor and despised of her own country. For both groups she was Mother India. For Rajiv these were the awkward realities of politics. For while he embraced Yasser Arafat, the mobs burned his capital. **E**

GUEST COLUMN: Vinod Mehta on
India's new Prime Minister

Rajiv the nice and the nasty

FIRST the bad news: Rajiv Gandhi's record in public life does not suggest that he is the man for the job. As general secretary of the Congress (Indira) Party he has a long and impressive list of failures, the most notable being the selection of candidates for Assembly elections in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, both of which Mrs Gandhi lost badly. While his genial nature — he is popularly known as Mr Nice — makes a welcome change from the brashness of his late younger brother, Sanjay, critics maintain that this all too cultivated amicability is a facade to cover up his relentless ambition and is completely alien to the requirements of Indian politics.

In fact, the Mr Nice appendage is something of a subterfuge. Rajiv's public utterances and actions indicate a clear divergence between image and reality. It is no secret in Delhi and elsewhere that the new Prime Minister had a great deal to do with the controversial dismissal (it came to be known as "operation topple") of the Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister, Farooq Abdullah. Even today the personal animosity between the two is so intense that it precludes the exchange of normal courtesies.

On Pakistan Rajiv has been known to beat the war drums, emphasising that both General Zia and President Reagan are working together to dismember India. Mr Gandhi is the one who most frequently talks about the "foreign hand" — a reference to the CIA and Pakistan — highlighting its alleged role in domestic affairs, particularly Punjab. Not surprisingly, he believes India should further strengthen its armed forces in order to combat the "adventurist designs" of its hostile neighbours.

Throughout the Punjab crisis Rajiv has been a consistent "hawk." Indeed at times he criticised his mother for not being tough enough. The day after the Golden Temple was returned to the five high priests, there were some "disturbances" inside the temple

with a few youths putting up the Khalistan flag and chanting pro-Bhindranwale slogans. Rajiv Gandhi promptly came out with a statement severely attacking the high priests for encouraging "anti-national" activities, and he warned them that if such disturbances were repeated the army would take re-possession of the Temple.

One must remember that the new Prime Minister was against his mother's terms of settlement with the priests; he wanted various written guarantees concerning the running of the Temple. Mrs Gandhi overruled her son and returned the shrine without guarantees either verbal or written.

It is significant that on most domestic and some foreign issues Rajiv Gandhi's views are not only at variance with his mother's, but they are also considerably tougher.

But is toughness the need of the hour? Many would argue that what the country needs is an amalgam of the original Rajiv — the one who was considerate, polite, conciliatory — and the latest avatar. Certainly if any country needs the healing touch it is India, and while Rajiv Gandhi will have to be completely ruthless when it comes to putting down sectarian violence, he will also have to convince the Hindus that the bullets which killed his mother were not fired by an entire community but by an infinitesimally small band of desperate and demented extremists — a group that the overwhelming majority of Sikhs living in India do not support.

The new Prime Minister of India has no shortage of problems. First, and most urgent of all, he has to keep the peace. It was inevitable that there would be, especially in the first week or ten days, Hindu-Sikh clashes with the attendant casualties. But across the board Hindu-Sikh violence must be avoided. The only way to ensure this would be for the army to take direct control of law and order *all over the country* and for Rajiv Gandhi to assume personal responsibility for this portfolio. If the nation

can see Rajiv Gandhi succeeding in this brief but vital task — and the first signs are that he is succeeding — he will have passed his first test. If he fails his days are numbered.

The first couple of months of Rajiv Gandhi's prime ministership will determine his political fate. At least two ministers in the new Cabinet nurse prime ministerial hopes. While Mrs Gandhi was alive these gentlemen had neither the guts nor the opportunity to stake their claims. They were all waiting for the "fateful day."

The scenario — and I have heard this from the mouth of a senior minister — goes something like this: Indira Gandhi is "no more," Rajiv is swiftly inducted. Rajiv makes a mess of things so the long and short knives come out. Mr Gandhi is ousted, or (and this was seen to be the more likely possibility) he retires voluntarily to the bosom of his wife and family. Enter Narasemha Rao (Home Minister), Pranab Mukherji (Finance Minister)

In this scenario it is conceivable that the new Prime Minister in his early days may not obtain the full and wholehearted cooperation of his cabinet colleagues, especially those who are after his job. I don't believe this will, in fact, happen. Whatever secret ambitions these gentlemen might entertain, they will pull together, initially at least. No doubt, like all politicians, they are obsessed with personal gain; however the magnitude and tragedy of this crisis should melt the heart of the most cynical among them. Rajiv Gandhi will, therefore, have a "honeymoon" period with his Cabinet, his party, and the opposition supporting him in his efforts to restore normality.

Even if in the honeymoon period efforts are made to sabotage Rajiv's progress they are unlikely to pose a serious threat. In the four years he has been a "reluctant politician," Rajiv has shown a marked preference for working with his own aides (mostly school and Indian Airlines chums) and it is on this "kitchen cabinet" that he will be relying on rather than the heavyweights in his cabinet.

Nevertheless, even while he is embroiled in restoring sectarian peace, Rajiv Gandhi will quickly have to assert his authority over the party he now leads.

There are over 100 MPs in the Congress party today who would dearly like to see Rajiv fail. They are the "Sanjay loyalists," handpicked by Rajiv's late brother and brought into parliament in the last general election. Mr Gandhi has made it plain that in the next election these MPs would be denied tickets and their place would be taken by "Rajiv loyalists." the neutralising of this internal opposition will be another major test for the new Prime Minister.

My own view is that if Rajiv Gandhi can ride the first three or four months he will be on his way to a long innings.

Vinod Mehta is the Editor of the Sunday Observer, Bombay.

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Appointments to Council of Ministers Reported

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in English 1430 GMT 5 Nov 84*

[Excerpts] President of India on advice of prime minister has appointed following persons to Council of Ministers:

Ministers of State (Independent Charge)

Bhagwat Jha Azad: Food and Civil Supplies
H.K.L. Bhagat: Information and Broadcasting. In addition to this he will assist the minister for parliamentary affairs.
Mrs Sheila Kaul: Education, Culture, and Social Welfare
Khurshid Alam Khan: Tourism and Civil Aviation
C.K. Jaffar Sheriff: Irrigation
N.K.P. Salve: Steel and Mines. In addition to this he will assist the minister for parliamentary affairs.
V.N. Gadgil: Communications.

Ministers of State

Shiv Raj Patil: Science and Technology, Atomic Energy, Space, and Ocean Development
Ram Niwas Mirdha: External Affairs
A.A. Rahim: External Affairs
Nawal Kishore Sharma: Finance
S.M. Krishna: Commerce and the Department of Supply
P. Venkatasubhaiah: Home Affairs
Mrs Ram Dulari Sinha: Home Affairs
Dalbir Singh: Department of Coal
Arif Mohammad Khan: Energy
K.P. Singh Deo: Defence
Harinath Mishra: Planning
Dharamvir: Labour and Rehabilitation
Z.R. Ansari: Shipping and Transport
Yogendra Makwana: Agriculture
N.R. Laskar: Industry
Pattabhi Rama Rao: Industry
Gargi Shankar: Petroleum

Deputy Ministers

M.S. Sanjeeva Rao: Department of Electronics
Digvijay Singh: Department of Environment

Janardhna Poojari: Finance
P.A. Sangma: Commerce
Miss Kumud Joshi: Health and Family Welfare
Mallikarjun: Parliamentary Affairs and Works and Housing and Sports
Mohd Usman Arif: Works and Housing
Ashok Gehlot: Sports
Ghulam Nabi Azad: Information and Broadcasting
P.K. Thungon: Education and Culture and Social Welfare
Vijay N. Patil: Communications

President has also directed that P.V. Narasimha Rao, minister of home affairs, will also hold additional temporary charge of Ministry of Planning. President administered the oaths of office and secrecy to the new ministers at a ceremony held at Ashoka Hall of Rashtrapati Bhavan on November 4 except following:

Nawal Kishore Sharma, Arif Mohammad Khan, N.R. Laskar and Ashok Gehlot.

On October 31st president of India on advice of Rajiv Gandhi appointed following to the members of Council of Ministers and their portfolios given were announced the following day:

Pranab A.R. Kumar Mukherjee: Finance, Commerce, and Supply
P.V. Narasimha Rao: Home
Shiv Shankar: Energy
Buta Singh: Parliamentary Affairs, Sports and Works and Housing.

A nucleus of power with Arun

By SUBHASH CHAKRAVARTI
The Times of India News Service
NEW DELHI, November 12.

THE two appointments, Mr. Arun Nehru as the general secretary of the Congress, and Mr. Arun Singh as the parliamentary secretary to the Prime Minister, is a clear indication of the formation of a nucleus by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to be closely in touch with the party and the administration.

Both men are known to be close to the Prime Minister and since Mrs.



Mr. Arun Nehru

Indira Gandhi's assassination they have been conspicuously prominent in Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's make-shift secretariat at No. 1, Safdarjung Road.

Mr. Gandhi was flanked by the two Aruns when he came to the Prime Minister's secretariat in South Block to be the third in the Nehru family to mark the beginning of his career as the Prime Minister.

Mr. Arun Singh's responsibilities will be much wider than a parliamentary secretary is normally expected to perform. Indications are that Mr. Singh, who came to politics from an executive assignment in a multinational company, will be the centre of political and administrative activities involving the Prime Minister's secretariat. Unlike the previous incumbents, he will occupy an office in the Prime

Nucleus of power

Continued from Page 1 Column 8

Minister's secretariat. It has to be seen, however, how the responsibilities of the existing senior officials will be spelt out by the Prime Minister.

The reappointment of Mr. Sharda Prasad as information adviser to the Prime Minister with the rank of a secretary and Mr. R. K. Dhawan as the special assistant with a joint secretary's rank were announced today.

The final shape of the administrative wing of the Prime Minister's secretariat will in all probability be determined by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's personal attachment and predilection. He is keeping his ideas close to his chest causing in the process unending speculation.

Mr. Arun Nehru even before his formal elevation to the high post in the party was a power to reckon with. He was closely associated with vital decisions concerning the party in U.P., Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir and some southern states.

He too is a greenhorn in politics having served a multinational company in Calcutta before contesting the by-election from Rae Bareilly after Mrs. Gandhi vacated the seat.

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Rajiv snubs Manch

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI, November 7: The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, snubbed the Rashtriya Sanjay Manch by refusing to receive its representative as a member of the opposition delegation that called on him yesterday.

The delegation led by Mr. Charan Singh included representatives of several other opposition groups, who had signed a memorandum seeking protection for the Sikhs.

Mr. Jaipal Singh Kashyap, MP, who went to the Prime Minister's residence as the Manch representative, was refused entry.

According to a Manch statement, "while other opposition leaders were escorted by Mr. Dhavan to the Prime Minister's room, Mr. Kashyap was kept outside and told by Mr. Dhavan that the Prime Minister was allergic to the Manch and would not meet the Manch MP in this delegation."

Mr. Kashyap asked Mr. Dhavan why he was not told beforehand, to which there was no answer. "As the Manch was mourning Mrs. Gandhi's death, he said was leaving the PM's house in peaceful protest," the statement added.

Subsequently, Mr. Charan Singh wrote to the Prime Minister: "I personally feel that what happened was unfortunate and that the composition of any delegation cannot be determined by the person who had agreed to meet the delegation."

"The delegation was to meet you for a public cause and, therefore, I thought that it would not be proper to lodge a protest then and there," (when it met the Prime Minister), he said.

The Manch spokesman, Mr. J. N. Mishra, told reporters today that Mrs. Maneka Gandhi was in mourning and would talk to correspondents later on the harassment and humiliation she has had to go through. According to him, she had to seek a permit to attend the funeral.

On yesterday's incident, Mr. Mishra and Mr. Kashyap told reporters that the Manch representative was refused entry because he would name the persons responsible for the violence which started from Safdarjang hospital and enveloped the entire country.

They charged that Mr. Gandhi's conduct was marked by "uncalled for bias against the Manch and smacked of immaturity and inexperience."

Mr. Karpoori Thakur and some others who were in the delegation yesterday, issued a statement disapproving of the "discriminatory and arbitrary conduct of the Prime Minister in not meeting the RSM representative who had accompanied the delegation."

Rajiv Gandhi, in Speech to Nation, Pledges a Continuity of Policies

By JAMES M. MARKHAM

Special to The New York Times

NEW DELHI, Nov. 12 — Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi pledged continuity tonight with the foreign and domestic policies of his grandfather, Jawaharlal Nehru, and his mother, Indira Gandhi, who was assassinated 12 days ago.

In his first address to the nation, the Prime Minister, 40 years old, reaffirmed a commitment to socialism at home and to nonalignment in foreign affairs.

Speaking in Hindustani and English on national radio and television, Mr. Gandhi did not allude to the mass slayings of Sikhs that followed his mother's assassination by two assailants identified as Sikh members of her bodyguard.

But he said: "Vested interests, both external and internal, are inciting and exploiting communal passions and violence to divide India. Answering communalism with communalism will only help these subversive and secessionist forces."

'Only One India'

"The combined might of the people and the Government," he said, "will thwart their designs. There is only one India. It belongs to all of us."

Earlier in the day, in a move that consolidated his political position, Mr. Gandhi was unanimously named president of the governing Congress Party. The party presidency, which his mother had also held, will give the Prime Minister important leverage over the organization as it prepares for a general election expected in late December or early January.

The Prime Minister's first foray into public policy formulation was striking in that it seemed to break little new ground and gave only a faint sense of what his eventual imprint on the nation might be.

Instead, repeatedly evoking the legacies of his grandfather and his mother, Mr. Gandhi affirmed India's "adherence to socialism and planning," said rural development would be given priority in national plans and asserted that the private sector "has adequate scope to enhance the productive potential of the economy."

Wants New 'Work Ethic'

But Mr. Gandhi, who has drawn some of his closest advisers from the private sector and who is said to want to cleanse corruption from public life, called for "a new work ethic, a new work culture" in which "government is result-bound and not procedure-bound."

"A strong concern for efficiency must permeate all institutions," he said. "No quarter will be given to the corrupt, the lazy, the inefficient."

The Prime Minister, who was educated in Britain, appeared to speak the Hindustani version of his speech with some caution, but wore a traditional shawl thrown over his shoulder. Sitting somberly behind a desk, he was flanked by a photograph of his mother

and a globe of the world.

In foreign affairs, Mr. Gandhi again evoked the two members of his family who also led India, saying: "Jawaharlal Nehru bequeathed to us a foreign policy which Indira Gandhi so creatively enriched. I shall carry it forward."

Calls for Better Relations

Mr. Gandhi affirmed a wish "to develop closer relations with each one of our immediate neighbors in a spirit of peace, friendship and cooperation" and added, "This is what we have offered Pakistan." He said relations with China were improving.

The traditional accents of India's professed nonalignment were audible in the differing language used to describe ties with Moscow and Washington.

"We highly value the wide-ranging and time-tested relationship with the Soviet Union, based on mutual cooperation, friendship and vital support when most needed," he said. "With the United States of America, we have a multifaceted relationship. We attach importance to our economic, technological and cultural cooperation with them."

He added, "We have always been friends with both the East and the West, as they are called, and we want better relations between them."

Mr. Gandhi's elevation to the Congress Party presidency took place this morning in the organization's whitewashed headquarters as 30 members of its working committee unanimously selected him to succeed his mother.

He Gives a Pep Talk

As soon as the party's barons had reached their widely anticipated decision, Mr. Gandhi arrived at the headquarters, riding in the front seat of a squat, bulletproof, Indian-made sedan. He accepted the post and gave a short pep talk, praising the 99-year-old Congress and attacking the opposition.

By taking the party presidency, the Prime Minister virtually won the right to name candidates who will stand for the Congress Party in the elections. Mr. Gandhi is seen as having an inter-

est in choosing a bloc of new candidates who will be beholden to him once the new Parliament is formed.

So dependent is the party on Mr. Gandhi's name — and presumed electoral charisma — that no other Congress politician was even bruited as a contender for the party's top job.

Mr. Gandhi retained all the members of the party parliamentary board and its working committee, but named a cousin, Arun Nehru, as a new party general secretary. Mr. Nehru, a former paint company executive with scant political experience, has emerged as one of the new Prime Minister's most influential advisers.

Commandos Accompany Premier

The Prime Minister appeared at the Congress headquarters accompanied by the black-uniformed army commandos who have been made responsible for his security since his mother's as-

sassination. Recruited heavily from the tough hill tribes of northern Uttar Pradesh, the commando units are believed to contain no Sikhs.

The coming election campaign has forced India's squabbling opposition groupings to call a meeting in New Delhi in two days to see if they can forge some kind of united front. So far, bickering among aging, jealous opposition chieftains — many of them erstwhile Congress politicians — has prevented the merger of a baffling array of rival factions.

At the same time, in the Punjab the mainstream Sikh political party, the Akali Dal, has in recent days shown signs of severe internal strains and factionalism, which pits radicals favoring an independent Sikh state against moderates. The army has occupied the Punjab since June, and it is uncertain whether the northwestern state will vote in the general election.

Press Ban in the Punjab

In an effort to keep the Punjab tranquil, the state government today banned periodicals, newspapers or leaflets carrying reports on the anti-Sikh carnage in New Delhi and the rest of the country, which is believed to have taken some 1,000 lives. Aside from one terrorist incident, the Punjab has been calm.

In another development, Suryakant S. Jog, the newly designated commissioner of the New Delhi police, announced that he had ordered an inquiry into the virtual collapse of the 35,000-strong force in the face of thug-led mobs.

"My first duty will be to restore the confidence of the people in the police force of Delhi," Mr. Jog said at a news conference, adding that he would dismiss officers found to have been derelict in performing their duties.

The capital and the rest of India were reported calm. Schools in New Delhi reopened today after being shut since the assassination.

Punjab, Assam poll not now

November 13 (UNI-PTI).

MORE than 378 million voters in the country barring Assam and Punjab will go to the polls on December 24 and 27 to elect the eighth Lok Sabha in the world's most massive balloting exercise.

The chief election commissioner, Mr. R. K. Trivedi, who announced the poll programme today at a crowded news conference, said the assembly elections would be held simultaneously in Manipur state and the Union territories of Arunachal Pradesh and Goa, Daman and Diu.

He said the assembly elections could be held in Tamil Nadu too if the election commission received word from the state authorities of their intention to have simultaneous poll.

The parliamentary elections take place barely two months after the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the assumption of office by the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

AHEAD OF SCHEDULE

The announcement of the elections came just a day after Mr. Rajiv Gandhi took over as president of the party which has ruled the country for 37 years since Independence except for a break of three years.

Since the 1980 elections, there has been an addition of more than 23 million voters.

Over 430,000 polling stations will be set up in the 20 states and nine Union territories.

The elections are taking place about three weeks ahead of schedule. The five-year term of the present seventh Lok Sabha is to expire on January 20.

This is the first time that two states are being excluded from a notification for the Lok Sabha elections.

The poll notification will be issued on November 20, when nominations will open. The last date for nominations is November 27, date for scrutiny November 28 and the last date for

withdrawals of candidatures November 30.

Various political parties have already started their preparations for the elections. Discussions have been under way among some of the opposition parties on reaching some understanding to avoid splitting of opposition votes.

While a majority of the states would have one-day poll on December 24, on the eve of Christmas, seven or eight states, including Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan are likely to have two-day polls — December 24 and 27.

Counting of votes would commence

Poll programme

The election commission has fixed the following programme for the general election:

1. Issue of notification
20.11.1984 (Tuesday)
2. Last date for filing nominations
27.11.1984 (Tuesday)
3. Scrutiny of nominations
28.11.1984 (Wednesday)
4. Last date for withdrawal of candidatures
30.11.1984 (Friday)
5. Dates of poll
24.12.1984 (Monday)
27.12.1984 (Thursday)

on December 28 and most of the results are expected the same day, Mr. Trivedi said.

Fresh elections to state assemblies in Manipur and the Union territories of Arunachal Pradesh and Goa, Daman and Diu would also be held with the Lok Sabha elections, Mr. Trivedi said. Besides, Lok Sabha election in the Union territory of Chandigarh would also be held. The Lok Sabha polls for 14 seats in Assam and 13 seats in Punjab might be held in May next, Mr. Trivedi said.

By-elections to one assembly constituency each in Andhra Pradesh,

Karnataka, West Bengal and Himachal Pradesh would be held along with the parliamentary poll.

Mr. Trivedi ruled out dissolution of the present Lok Sabha in view of the fresh elections. The Lok Sabha would continue till its stipulated term of five years up to January 20, 1985, after which the new house would be constituted, he said.

Assembly elections in Sikkim and Pondicherry, now under President's rule would be held only after the revocation of President's rule, Mr. Trivedi said.

To a question on Tamil Nadu, Mr. Trivedi said, the state chief electoral officer had indicated that there was a possibility of the state assembly being dissolved to facilitate simultaneous poll for the assembly and the Lok Sabha. So far, the commission had not received any firm indication or recommendation in that regard.

"In case we get the recommendation in two days, we will have simultaneous poll there", Mr. Trivedi said.

ELECTORAL ROLLS

In Assam, Mr. Trivedi said, the commission had, in fulfilment of the assurance given to the supreme court, initiated action to undertake the revision of the electoral rolls. The revision of the electoral roll in the border state would take about four to five months.

As regards Punjab, he said until September the commission thought it would be possible to have polls along with the rest of the country. But the recent "unfortunate happenings" had somehow changed the entire complexion. Therefore, after consultations with the authorities concerned the commission had come to the conclusion that it would not be possible to hold elections there along with the rest of the country.

ONE-DAY POLL FAVOURED

Mr. Trivedi said that the commission would be fixing separate election programme for Assam and Punjab in due course. He said the commission proposed to have further consultations with the chief secretaries, chief electoral officers and the directors-general and inspectors-general of police of every state and Union territory region-wise on November 17 and 19 on various matters connected with the arrangements for the conduct of the poll.

After such discussions, decisions would be taken as to which of the states would have two-day poll.

"The commission's endeavour is

to have a single-day poll in as many states, as far as practicable, and in all Union territories keeping in view the present law and order situation," Mr. Trivedi said.

He said with all arrangements like procurement of materials now being complete, the election machinery was ready to go through the process of election. The commission, he said, had also finalised the symbols of seven national and 31 state parties. As far as DMKP was concerned, the question of recognising it did not arise.

Madras (UNI): The Tamil Nadu cabinet will meet on Thursday to take a formal decision on recommending to the governor dissolution of the state assembly and holding of assembly elections along with the Lok Sabha polls on December 24.

The chief election commissioner, Mr. R. K. Trivedi, has stipulated that the Tamil Nadu government should inform in two or three days about the dissolution of the assembly to facilitate a simultaneous poll.

A high-level AIADMK delegation, led by the finance minister, Mr. V. R. Nedunchezhiyan, left here on Tuesday afternoon for Delhi to finalise the alliance with the Congress for the polls.

Ahmedabad (TOINS): Gujarat will not opt for state assembly elections simultaneously with the Lok Sabha polling to be held on December 24, the home minister, Mr. Prabhodh Raval, and the Pradesh Congress president, Mahant Vijaydasji, categorically said on Tuesday.

Mr. Raval said that the government was not at all considering to go for simultaneous election. As for the Lok Sabha elections, he said the state government would prefer two-day polling to enable it to mobilise machinery to ensure free and fair elections.

The PCC president, while talking to newsmen here, said the assembly elections would be held as per the schedule. The term of the present house is due to expire in June next year.

He said that there was no justification in cutting short the duration of the present assembly.

EDITORIAL APPRAISALS OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT

A New Style in India

Rajiv Gandhi Is Expected to Wield Power In a Less Imperial Way Than His Mother

By WILLIAM K. STEVENS

Special to The New York Times

NEW DELHI, Nov. 11 — Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has barely begun to confront the daunting challenges and the opportunities for new beginnings that he faces. But it has already become apparent to many here that if he survives politically, he will differ significantly from his mother in policy and style.

India and Mr. Gandhi appear to have come through the horrible days after Indira Gandhi's assassination more or less on an even keel. The riots in the capital, in which at least 600 people were killed, appear to have ended. Life in the rest of the country, where at least 400 others died violently, seems to have returned nearly to normal. And Mr. Gandhi is widely credited with having successfully projected at least an image of poise, strength and continuity in government at a dangerous moment for national stability.

Signs of Openness

Continuity aside, the 40-year-old Prime Minister has shown signs that his Government, if it lasts, will be more open, less imperial and less authoritarian than that of his mother, and that he will delegate authority and rely on consensus more than did Mrs. Gandhi, who tended to hold power closely and was known to mistrust some of the people to whom Mr. Gandhi has already made gestures of unity.

One early indication of this, some politicians and political scientists here say, was Mr. Gandhi's meeting with opposition leaders to work out a joint appeal for an end to the post-assassination violence.

"Mrs. Gandhi would have been too proud to make a joint appeal for communal harmony," said a former member of her inner circle who is now a journalist. Indira Gandhi, he explained, did not trust the opposition, and in fact saw it as part of forces she said were out to destabilize the country and break it apart.

Mr. Gandhi has yet to fully establish his authority, however, in the view of many politicians and commentators. Until he does, they say, he will be unable either to grapple with some of the intimidating difficulties facing the country or to take advantage of a

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chance for changes and initiatives — a chance that exists now but may vanish.

At the top of the list of problems is the baffling and intractable situation in the Punjab, where Mrs. Gandhi's attempts to deal with Sikh extremists may well have led to her death at the hands of assassins identified by the police as Sikhs. The Punjab now promises to become a long-term threat to Indian unity and stability, in the view of many politicians and intellectuals.

On top of that, say authorities interviewed last week, Mr. Gandhi must try to repair a breakdown of many public institutions that took place gradually under Mrs. Gandhi. This breakdown, they say, was vividly symbolized by the virtual collapse of the law-and-order machinery in the capital during the riots after her assassination.

'Loyalists and Sycophants'

Moreover, some say, Mrs. Gandhi left behind what Rajni Kothari, a respected political scientist, calls "a very inchoate economic and planning process" built around "loyalists and sycophants rather than neutral experts and administrators."

Mr. Gandhi, whose inclinations appear to be those of a technocrat, is regarded as having a chance to bring more expertise and talent into government, and to make management more professional. He is expected to try to woo back into the Congress Party a number of talented politicians who left it or were driven out because of personal conflicts with Mrs. Gandhi.

Some also believe that Mr. Gandhi, relatively unbound by his mother's policies and leftist tendencies, is also likely, in time, to lift some of the governmental controls that some economists say act as a brake on the growth of India's mixed economy.

"He's a free-enterpriser, basically," Dr. Kothari said.

Restoring Power to States

Mr. Gandhi is also expected to wield authority less completely than did Mrs. Gandhi, and possibly to restore to the chief ministers of states a measure of power and authority that they had under his grandfather, Jawaharlal Nehru. During Mrs. Gandhi's years in power much of the states' authority gravitated to New Delhi.

"He will depart in style and content from his mother's administration, there's no doubt about that," said Salman Khurshid, a lawyer and former speech writer for Mrs. Gandhi who is an acquaintance and supporter of the new Prime Minister. His father is a member of Mr. Gandhi's Cabinet.

"He is modern-minded and secular," said K. Natwar Singh, a high-level career diplomat and former Ambassador to Poland who resigned from the foreign service last week to run for Parliament as one of Mr. Gandhi's supporters. "He's open to new ideas," said Mr. Singh. "He will combine tradition with innovation."

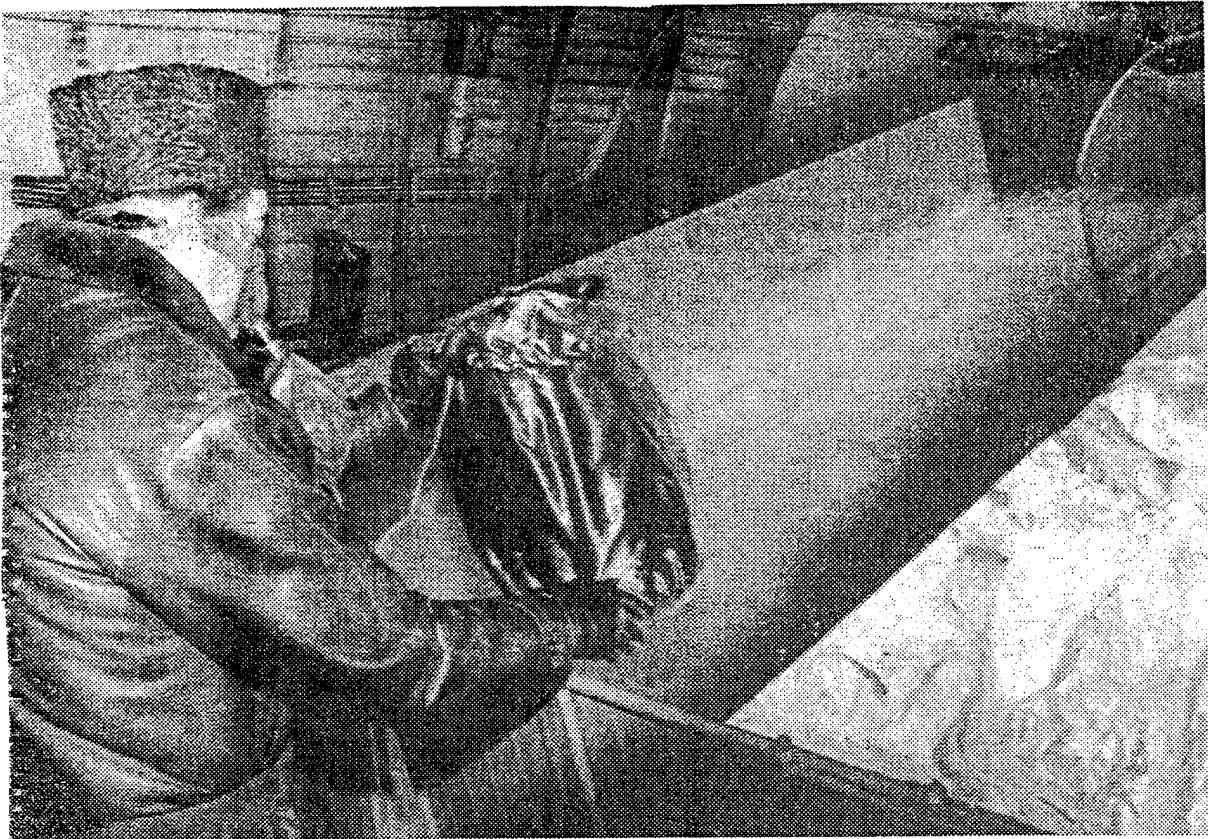
A Critical Period

"But first," said Dr. Kothari, "he has to assert his authority." The next few weeks are regarded as critical to that attempt. Mr. Gandhi is generally expected to hold elections for the lower house of Parliament in late December or the first week in January. A decision may be announced as early as this week.

"If we do well in the election," said Jaideep Singh, a Congress Party member of Parliament for 20 years, "the political future of Rajiv Gandhi is not at stake."

Many politicians and political commentators believe that the Congress Party will do better than it would have if Mrs. Gandhi had lived, largely because of a sympathy vote and the perception of Rajiv Gandhi as heir to a martyr. "Mrs. Gandhi is a greater vote-catcher now than when she was alive," said Natwar Singh.

Before the assassination, many commentators calculated that the Congress Party would be lucky to win a parliamentary majority. Now they predict it will win a substantial majority.



United Press International

GANDHI ASHES RELEASED OVER HIMALAYAS: Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India scattering the ashes of his mother, Indira, over the 22,000-foot Gangotri glacier, the main source of the Ganges River,

near India's border with Tibet. Ashes were also dropped over the mountains of Kashmir, near the border with Pakistan. The ceremony ended a 12-day period of national mourning. Mrs. Gandhi was slain Oct. 31.

Uncertain Consequences

If it does, said Natwar Singh, then Mr. Gandhi "can give any shape to his Government." If it does not, many politicians say, Mr. Gandhi's position could be in jeopardy.

Much depends, however, on what happens between now and the election. Renewed religious violence could upset things, with uncertain consequences.

Judgments vary on Mr. Gandhi's strength within his party. As first among its general secretaries, he has spent much of the last four years in the mechanics of party politics. Some politicians say that while his support is broad, it is not very deep, and that he could expect to be challenged if his position ever looked weak.

Others, like Jaideep Singh, insist that he has "such overwhelming support that it is not possible for anyone to challenge him."

'Just Fighting Fires'

By any calculation, the difficulties facing Mr. Gandhi, who only four years ago was an airline pilot with no political background, are awesome. "He's in a very unenviable position," said Dr. Kothari, who noted that "so far, he's just been fighting fires."

There are those who suspect that in

the first days after the assassination, when Mr. Gandhi was preoccupied with the horror of his mother's slaying, her funeral and realization of the heavy responsibility that had suddenly settled on him, he was not paying attention even to the fires — in this case, the rioting in New Delhi and other cities.

"He was not even thinking, poor chap, about those things," said Dr. Kothari. "It took about three days for him to realize what was going on in the city."

Still, his quiet bearing on television, and his firm appeals for harmony when they finally did come, won him high marks from many. This may have been a reflection of what is known to be Mr. Gandhi's mild, low-key manner. He displays little of the fire of either Nehru or Mrs. Gandhi.

Willingness to Listen

People who meet him are sometimes struck by his agreeable manner and his willingness to listen and communicate. "He will be a huge success in the campaign," said Mr. Khurshid, Mrs. Gandhi's former speech writer. "He will go down well with the crowd."

In his technocratic approach to problems and management, Mr. Gandhi differs sharply from his mother, who was a political person above all and who is regarded as having thoroughly politicized the Government by making loyalty the main qualification for those in management positions.

He is said to be more Western-oriented than Mrs. Gandhi. He was educated at Cambridge and has an Italian-born wife. He is said to feel comfortable in the West.

Acquaintances say they consider him levelheaded, with a serious, analytical mind. He is regarded as much more likely than Mrs. Gandhi to seek information from a variety of sources besides close associates, and to invite people into government on the basis of skill and talent rather than political loyalty.

'The Murkier Side'

But his schooling in public affairs and politics has not been either broad or long, and there are widespread doubts about whether he is adept enough at what Dr. Kothari calls "the murkier side of politics" to govern effectively.

"On this I have doubts," Dr. Kothari said, "but many people think he will be able to do it."

"If you can give him two years and an election victory," said Mr. Khurshid, "I think he'll make a better prime minister than Mrs. Gandhi."

Still, much is uncertain about Mr. Gandhi. Whether he will meet the challenges and take advantage of the opportunities for change is regarded as an open question that will take time to answer.

There is a large body of opinion that holds that Mrs. Gandhi left behind a political order in considerable disarray.

This is commonly ascribed to a tendency on her part to centralize as much power as possible in the Prime Minister's office over the years. In such a system, H. K. Dua wrote in *The Indian Express* last week, "authorities at various levels have lost the will to decide and act" and "everybody looks to the top." Political institutions, he wrote, and others have said, are consequently much more frail than they were before Mrs. Gandhi's tenure.

Decline of the Party

At the same time, the Congress Party is widely regarded as having become a shell of its former self. Recently it has lost its electoral hold on much of southern India, and it is thought to have lost the Punjab, too.

Many analysts say that Nehru allowed state party leaders in this diverse country much leeway and authority in governing. Mrs. Gandhi is regarded as having reversed that situation. Dr. Kothari, for one, believes that Rajiv Gandhi has an opportunity to "unload the tremendous load" that the central Government has taken on and to restore some balance to the federal system.

According to this line of analysis, much of the unrest in the country in the last few years stemmed from the tendency of Mrs. Gandhi's Government to rein in regional aspirations. The Punjab, where Sikh militants pressed first for more autonomy, then for a separate state, is a major case in point.

"Rajiv is going to face a lot of pressure for sharing power from the states," Dr. Kothari said.

A Clarion Call

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's first major statement as Prime Minister is a clarion call to the nation to get over the trauma of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's assassination and bend its energies to build "the India of her dreams". In a few, well-chosen words, he has invoked the great legacy of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and his mother and pledged himself to carry the torch forward. In view of the circumstances of Mrs. Gandhi's tragic death and its aftermath, it is inevitable that he should have been at pains to emphasise again and again the virtues of secularism and tolerance, the basic tenets that bind the country together. But it is clear that he is as acutely aware of the need to fight the disruptive forces with the "combined might of the people and the government" as of the positive factors at work. Thanks to the enterprise and skills of its people, the country has recorded spectacular gains in recent years in science and industry, agriculture and social reform. As chairman of the non-aligned movement, it has also been playing a major role in the comity of nations to halt the arms race, promote North-South dialogue and usher in a new international economic order. Its "political and economic standing in the world", as the Prime Minister put it, "is higher than ever". He has done well to reassure everyone at home and abroad that the basic postulates of the government's foreign, economic and social policies will remain unchanged. He has also indicated that, within that broad framework, the stress from now on, at least in the domestic sphere, will be on innovation, transformation and modernisation to meet the demands of the 21st century.

Two other points are noteworthy in this context. First, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi knows that red-tape and bureaucratic sloth can thwart the best of the government's plans or intentions and so he has gone out of his way to promise "full protection" to honest civil servants from political pressures. This assurance was obviously called for. Public servants can hardly be expected to evolve a new work-ethic if their career prospects continue to depend less on their performance than on the whims of their political masters. Besides, the Prime Minister recognises the serious infirmities of the country's educational system and is keen to do something about it. Whether a "national consensus" that he envisages on measures for reform will be feasible, however, is another matter; more likely the attempt to evolve it will only waste time. Excellent schemes to universalise primary education, promote adult literacy, vocationalise secondary schools, and revamp curricula in universities are already under way; all that is required is to implement them with vigour.

Nehru, Indira And Rajiv

Different Styles, One Objective

By GIRILAL JAIN

NEVER before has November 14 come upon us amidst such tragedy. Even if we go through some routine functions, our hearts and minds will be elsewhere — fluctuating between the bullet-ridden body of Indira Gandhi we have just cremated and the calm, collected Rajiv Gandhi we have installed in her place as the country's Prime Minister.

It is not that Indira Gandhi's martyrdom has blotted out our fond memories of the man who is quite justly called the father of modern India. In fact, for the Indian intelligentsia of the older generation, the Nehru era has become a kind of golden age and the man who presided over it a philosopher-king of Plato's prescription. Attempts have, of course, been made from time to time, especially during the Janata rule, to take him off the pedestal and even denigrate him. But these failed, as they were bound to, in the face of the grandeur of the man's personality and the magnitude of his contribution.

No, the problem is not that the memory of Nehru has been pushed into the background by the circumstances of Indira Gandhi's sudden death — the brutal assassination followed by a communal carnage — and the anxieties that it has aroused in the hearts and minds of millions of us. The problem is that today we do not know how to remember him and honour him. The clichéd writings and speeches would be wholly out of place in the present context which is about all we have been capable of all these years.

In a sense, this is an immediate problem. It need not bother us next year when Indira Gandhi's martyrdom will have passed into history, if in the meantime Rajiv Gandhi proves himself capable of ruling this country. But in another, deeper sense, the problem will be with us even then. Indeed, it has been with us ever since Nehru's own death in 1964. We have not known how to place him in the perspective of history.

Nehru was, on a surface view, a Westernised oriental gentleman (WOG) in view of his respect for democratic forms and norms and the so-called Queensberry rules, and his modern (Western) sensi-

bilities which extended up to table manners. But he was not the sugar-daddy we made him out to be when we contrasted the daughter's political behaviour with his — to her great disadvantage. He was a revolutionary. And he was a revolutionary not by virtue of his Fabian socialism and his nodding acquaintance with Marxism but by virtue of his fierce nationalism and commitment to the building and consolidation of an Indian nation-state on the one hand and to democracy on the other.

Potent Ideologies

So great and widespread is the confusion Marxists of different hues have created among our intelligentsia that it is virtually impossible for anyone to sell the proposition that nationalism and democracy are not only extremely potent ideologies but that they are also revolutionary ideologies. Let us take up nationalism first.

One aspect of the potency of nationalism as expressed in the desire of all countries for independence and self-rule is widely recognised. All nations want to manage their affairs even if they make a hash of it and in the process expose themselves to tyranny of one kind or another. (Over 80 per cent of humanity lives under some form of dictatorship.) But nationalism is not just a search for independence and self-rule. It involves a social revolution of the most profound character. It means the subordination of all traditional social loyalties, arrangements and power hierarchies to one overriding loyalty (the motherland) and one authority (the state).

One can legitimately take the view that the objective is not worth the terrible price. This was Mahatma Gandhi's position though, unlike Western humanists opposed to nationalism on the ground that it provokes wars which in our era can mean the end of our civilization, he did not spell out his reasons. Though he led the freedom struggle with unmatched skill, courage and perseverance, he was not for a modern nation-state. This was the implication of his plea for a social, economic and political order based on more or less self-sufficient villages.

All traditional societies are by definition loosely structured from bottom to top. This is true even of societies which practise monotheistic and monolithic religions such as Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Naturally this is even more true of Indian society with its predominantly Hindu majority which recognises as many paths to spiritual elevation as the number of human beings and provides for a system of castes and sub-castes with their own rules and regulations designed to produce a high degree of autonomy for these units.

An effort to build a nation out of this loose conglomeration of castes and sub-castes cannot but be a painful and prolonged affair. For, involving as nationalism must the concept of a common and equal citizenship with rights and obligations which are to be determined and mediated by agencies deriving their authority from the state, it represents the very opposite of the Hindu social arrangement. In plain words, the rise of a nation in India, as elsewhere, is conditional on the weakening of all traditional forms of authority, whether based on customs and usage or on religious scriptures, and their subordination in the secular realm to the agencies of the state which enforce the laws and regulations that the state legislates.

Intellectual Revolution

It is evident that coercion by the state, however powerful the state, cannot produce such a profound transformation. The state has, of course, to be powerful; it has to possess a monopoly of organised violence regardless of whether or not it disarms the citizenry. But the rise of such a state has also to be accompanied, if not preceded, by, on the one hand, an intellectual revolution (like the one the Encyclopaedists brought about in France) which denies the existing institutions the legitimacy they have possessed on the strength of tradition and, on the other, by economic development which can sustain a powerful state and integrate different parts of the country and of society. Nationalism is a modern concept which is practicable only in modern times. For, only a modern economy can supplement the old, socio-economic structures by new ones and pave the way for the rise of a nation-state.

Nationalism, with its accompanying intellectual and economic revolutions leads, as its critics often put it, to the atomisation of the human being. The basic unit of a nation-state is the individual and not the larger caste or sub-caste groups. Democracy reinforces this revolution manifold because democracy recognises only the individual as the arbiter of national destiny.

Though he did not inaugurate these two revolutions — they had been launched by the British — they acquired momentum under Nehru on account of a variety of measures and developments which the Indian state deliberately introduced and promoted — adult franchise, abolition of absentee landlordism, the spread of education

and means of transport and communication to the remotest part of the country, massive investment in economic growth, and so on. Since India had stagnated under the British — education and other developments had touched a relatively small section of society in a meaningful sense of the term —, the twin revolutions gathered momentum rather slowly. And since the Indian people had been ground down by an alien imperial authority which looked down upon them for reasons of racial, religious and cultural differences and had managed to convince them of their inherent inferiority, it took them time to stand up. Nehru did not have to contend with fully aroused people insisting on their rights. On the contrary, he spent a great deal of his time urging the common people to shed their fears and stand and walk erect. Thus, the institutional framework he had inherited — the British administration and the Congress organisation — could cope with the problems he faced without too much difficulty.

Chief Instrument

We do not know what he would have done if the decline of the Congress, the country's principal instrument for mobilising the people for participation in the democratic process and channelising the energies, pressures and demands so aroused, had become manifest in 1957 as it did in 1967 when he had passed away, and if in the wake of such a decline the organisational bosses had ganged up against him.

It is possible that he would have quit. But that would have been a sign of weakness and un-

worthy of him. Broadly speaking, two alternatives would have been open to him. Either he could have sought to restore the *status quo ante* in a proper constitutional manner or he could have done more or less what Mrs. Gandhi did to assert the supremacy of the office of Prime Minister. We have no means of knowing for certain what option he would have taken and whether or not he would have succeeded in making that choice stick.

We do know, however, that not only was Indira Gandhi a very different kind of leader from Nehru, but also that the India she came to rule and the Congress party she came to preside over were very different from the India and the Congress of the fifties. This fact was there for anyone to see in 1967 when the party lost office in all north Indian states from Himachal Pradesh to West Bengal. Indira Gandhi's style of leadership had to be different from her father's, although she too was inspired by the same objective of building a strong nation-state.

Perhaps it was unavoidable that many of us should have compared her style with Nehru's. For we had no other frame of reference in terms of our experience. But in the process we did grave injustice to Indira Gandhi and perhaps gave her a complex. We should not repeat this mistake in respect of Rajiv Gandhi. He is a very different kind of individual from his mother. On this account, if on no other, his leadership style has to be different from hers. As it happens, today, large sections of the Indian people are even more restless and rootless than they were in the sixties when Indira Gandhi came to power.

One must be rather simple-minded to believe that Rajiv Gandhi has to choose and can choose either of the two leadership styles we are familiar with — his grandfather's and his mother's. Such a choice is not open to him. He can hurt himself if he tries to make such a choice. He has to be himself and evolve a leadership style peculiarly his own if he has to survive and succeed.

Challenge Of Leadership For Rajiv Gandhi

By KARAN SAWHNY

ONE of the greatest failures in India's recent history is that a considerable number of Sikhs, as Sikhs, were not unhappy when they first learnt of Mrs Gandhi's assassination. It was the failure of all Indians that a situation had been created where such feelings could be evoked. But a much greater failure was the horrible aftermath in the capital and elsewhere. And this much greater failure was not merely a matter of feelings, but of attitudes—which are permanent until they are changed. These attitudes were manifested in the arson and physical violence directed against Sikhs, as well as the apathy of the police and many ordinary citizens.

The Sikhs can boast of many noble periods in their 500 years in India's history when their role was essential to forward movement. In the last two decades, however, they have been as much caught up in the intense ferment in which all Indians have lived, as other groups. In Punjab, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs of the British Indian Army—returning from European battlefields after 1918—brought with them the seeds of many changes, which confronted traditional Punjabi culture with the demands and challenges of the modern world. This interaction between tradition and pressures for change was much harder for Sikhs because their traditional warrior self-image did not help them out of their confusion. In an age of powerful nation-states and atomic bombs, the kirpan is a symbol of an identity that may not seem particularly relevant to many people. Scores of young people in the most prosperous region of the country were drawn into a self-destructive and tragic spiral of agitation because hurt Sikh pride and an archaic Sikh psyche captured their imaginations. There were many more people who, while not actively engaged, sympathized with the methods and the purposes of the extremist groups.

On the other side, there are those who suggest that the murder of a large number of innocent Sikhs, and the apathy of the police can somehow be justified by the previous turmoil in Punjab and the callous behaviour of a few stupid persons. The beginning of wisdom, Ber-

trand Russell remarked, was a sense of proportion. It is precisely this which has been missing in those who, although they were not part of the mob frenzy, still think in communal terms.

In this sense, the last 20 years of India's history can be described as a record of the failure of leadership. For the leadership that matters in a period of transition is cultural leadership, and there has been no leadership in recent times in this sphere except, perhaps, for the inchoate efforts of the late Jayaprakash Narayan. Mrs Gandhi, although she tried, was not able to provide an alternative to traditional world views. Modern India does not have a forward-looking ethos with which to inspire the people.

Humane Values

Of those who provided such leadership in the past, Mahatma Gandhi had the authority and the organizational skills to synthesize and propagate successfully humane and modern values. Jawaharlal Nehru attempted, in retrospect unsuccessfully, to move the practice of secularism from merely religious tolerance to a clear separation of an individual's religious faith and his politics. Since his death religious faith is increasingly confused with the notion that the interests of one's own particular community are in competition with those of others.

The Sikh leadership, which is made up now of its head priests and the quasi-religious Akali Dal, is utterly discredited for none had the courage to challenge the direction their agitation was taking or the moral authority to provide another direction. The latest idiosyncrasy was the denial by the head of the Akali Takht of endorsement of the condemnatory statement. Winning

the political game and massaging a hurt ego take precedence, both at the national level and in Punjab, over all other considerations.

The anti-Sikh mob frenzy of the first three days, and reports that these were, in part, organized by lower level "leaders" and political hoodlums, underline failures in more concrete matters. The paralysis of the decision-making apparatus in Delhi was a symptom of the erosion of the authority of those with managerial powers; a process of erosion which reached its culmination under Mrs Gandhi, with results which might haunt Mr Rajiv Gandhi for the rest of his political career.

With politics brazenly operating as a no-holds-barred spoils system and the politics of terror and assassination now current, the stability of the parliamentary system is gravely threatened. This is because the essential conditions for democracy—self-restraint and a strict observance of the rules of the game by all participants—are routinely breached. The course of events in Punjab in the last five years, and now in the rest of the country, gives hard evidence that constant agitation and the use of terror as an instrument of politics must surely lead to a catastrophe.

In the light of recent happenings the capacity of Punjab's politicians and political parties to carry out the civil functions of a democratic society is seriously in doubt. Even though the army's intervention eliminated Bhindranwale, Mrs Gandhi's assassination and the aftermath of violence in the rest of the country will make impossible any "healing touch", without harsh measures to punish severely these guilty of the killings. Leadership in these circumstances involves not just showing the way ahead but standing up and decisively saying "No" to the drift of events.

Sikh Support

Moderate Sikhs feel that Mr Rajiv Gandhi has done as much as he could to restore order. His appeals for self-restraint and peace, his self-possession during this period and the sympathy which has gone out to him assure him the support of not merely most of India's citizens but also that of most Sikhs. But for those tens of thousands of families who suffered the nightmare of the first week of November and all those others whose blood must boil at the outrages committed against Sikhs, the new Prime Minister's bona fides will remain suspect, unless the guilty are punished.

Mr Gandhi does not any longer need the "history sheeters" and criminals to sweep the next elections. He does not need even computer print-outs of caste balances and voter profiles or any of the other paraphernalia of psephology and cybernetics. For he can now afford to purge himself and his party of "goondas" and opportunists. But all this will not be enough to heal the nation or give his Government stability in office, if the Congress (I) is perceived as sheltering or protecting some of those who organized and participated in the carnage. The furies will not descend on India to extract vengeance for the blood which has been spilt, only if justice is seen to be done. In the circumstances this is what real leadership will require.

Alas, the standard response of the highest leaders has too often been to absolve themselves of the responsibility of doing what has to be done by pointing to the ubiquitous "foreign hand". It is absurd for a nation of 760 million to pretend that its destiny is a plaything of outsiders. No one can take seriously the argument that India's political balance is being rocked by the machinations of foreigners. The nation's integrity is not incompatible with regional or minority sentiment. Our unity will come about only by the creation of a widely shared vision of the future in which all have a sense of participation and all have the possibility of solid achievement and progress.

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THE PRESIDENT'S MEN

Mr Rajiv Gandhi's election as Congress (I) president need not have been as inevitable as it became during the past week; nor does it deserve unqualified welcome, unlike his appointment as Prime Minister following Mrs Gandhi's assassination. Critics of his hasty swearing-in on October 31 gave insufficient attention to the national imperative of immediate stability at the Centre; they must have since found their views to be at variance with the national mood, especially after the favourable impression created by Mr Gandhi's image and conduct in the difficult days after his mother's death. It is largely to his credit that order has been restored and the country has been reassured that continuity will be maintained. That in itself made his election as party chief less than essential. If Mr Gandhi was not quite happy at the pressure brought on him to assume the leadership, as some reports suggested, it is unfortunate that his unhappiness was not strong enough for him to withstand orchestrated sycophancy.

Identification of party and government is not always an unmixing political advantage, besides being an unhealthy convention. Mrs Gandhi was often rightly criticized for promoting party interests through what was seen as improper use of her executive office. When one person is in charge of both, it becomes extremely difficult to demarcate these functions and Mr Rajiv Gandhi might soon find himself a target of attack on this score. Further, there is little to suggest that his election as party president was a pressing necessity. The "sympathy factor" which is likely to be the Congress (I)'s main electoral asset would not have diminished if he had not been formally appointed the party's leader. In fact, organizationally the Congress (I) might have even benefited from a separate chief, for Mr Gandhi may not find as much time for party affairs as they will demand. It is a measure of the leadership vacuum in the ruling party that he had to be elected if only to forestall further factional rivalry.

However, Mr Gandhi does not appear to have wasted much time in giving notice of his determination to run the party on his own terms. This is signified quite clearly in the appointment of Mr Arun Nehru, his long-time associate, as general secretary in charge of all departments held previously by the new president. This almost automatically ensures Mr Nehru's succession to the position of most important secretary, giving him a deciding voice in the allotment of tickets for the coming Lok Sabha polls. Mr Arun Singh's appointment as parliamentary secretary to the Prime Minister is also significant in this context. Further, the elevation of Mr Ghani Khan Choudhury and Mr Darbara Singh in the party hierarchy indicates Mr Gandhi's desire to maintain a balance between rival factions. Whether the new president will work out a style different from his predecessor's cannot yet be said, but it is worth noting that whereas Mrs Gandhi took three years to assert her authority over the party, her son seems to have taken less than three weeks.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi

We can spend the rest of our lives arguing whether Mrs Gandhi should have brought a reluctant Rajiv Gandhi into politics on the death of her younger son, Mr Sanjay Gandhi, and whether she should have appointed him general secretary of the AICC and invested so much authority in him. But that would be a futile exercise. The pertinent issue now is whether on the day of the assassination of Mrs Gandhi, Mr Rajiv Gandhi should have hurriedly been sworn in as Prime Minister, or whether it would have been better to have followed the precedents and sworn in the seniormost member of the existing cabinet as "acting" Prime Minister and bring in Mr Rajiv Gandhi subsequently if and when the Congress parliamentary party had elected him as its leader. There is something to be said in favour of the view that such a course should have been followed. But while it would have accorded with the precedents and thereby catered to our penchant for conventions, it could have been politically risky.

Let us look at the precedents. Mr Nehru died a natural death and the issue of succession to him had been settled well in advance when under the pretext of the Kamaraj plan he had sent out Mr Morarji Desai and subsequently brought Mr Lal Bahadur Shastri back into the Union Cabinet. Those were also normal times with the result that there was no urgent need to rush Mr Shastri's appointment. A more or less similar situation obtained at the time of Mr Shastri's death in January 1966. Since he was not expected to pass away so soon, a successor to him had not been chosen. But once he did pass away, Mrs Gandhi's election as his successor was a foregone conclusion despite Mr Desai's insistence on a contest. Again, the war with Pakistan was over and the country did not face an emergency. For these two reasons — Mr Desai's insistence on a contest and the absence of an emergency — Mr G. L. Nanda was once again permitted to act as Prime Minister till such time as the Congress parliamentary board could meet and elect Mrs Gandhi as its leader.

This time the situation was totally different. Mrs Gandhi's assassination itself underscored the difference. It was a most dramatic demonstration of the twin facts that extremists and secessionists, acting with or without the support of external agency or agencies and the tacit approval of a substantial section of their community, had infiltrated into critical organs of the state apparatus and that they (and their masters if any were determined to undermine the Indian state. It is not possible for us to say whether or not those who had murdered Mrs Gandhi and their mentors and paymasters, if any, had anticipated the violent reaction that has followed it. We have no evidence either way. The reaction throughout the country was, however, a well known fact by the afternoon of the black Wednesday (October 31).

The situation called for a quick move to fill the vacuum, to the extent it could be, so that the administrative machinery could act with whatever degree of coherence it is capable of. There can be, indeed there are, genuine differences of opinion on whether Mr Gandhi can fill the bill. Similarly, it is legitimate for one to take the view that some particular senior minister in Mrs Gandhi's government would have been better qualified to cope with the situation. The implication in that case would be not that Mr Gandhi should have followed an interim Prime Minister but that he should preferably not have come in at all. This proposition would, however, runs counter to the possibility that the Congress parliamentary party might not have found someone else acceptable. Again it is open to us to debate whether or not Mrs Gandhi had deliberately emasculated the party in order to ensure that it would unite only on the choice of her son, first Mr Sanjay Gandhi and then Mr Rajiv Gandhi. But that too would be a futile exercise because the reality, whatever the cause, cannot be brushed aside. Thus if it is assumed that the CPP would have opted for Mr Gandhi, it is not easy to fault those who took the initiative in ensuring that he took over on Wednesday itself. Precedents with no force of law cannot in such a situation have precedence over the obligation to master the gathering crisis. So it is not necessary for us to invoke the concept of the presidential prerogative in an attempt to clothe this wholly legitimate deviation in apparent legality. Subsequent decisions in the party have vindicated the original initiative.

India today needs above all a firm hand at the helm. It will be partisan to prejudge the issue in favour of Mr Gandhi or against him. He will, of course, need to seek endorsement of the people for himself and the Congress party he now heads de facto, though not de jure. But this is just now the second issue and not the first. Also Mr Gandhi will need to pass the present test of ensuring a quick end of the fratricidal conflict that has come to engulf large parts of the country before he can even face the second. He has passed one test of leadership remarkably well. He has shown an extraordinary capacity to remain calm in the face of a great personal and national tragedy and the mad reaction to it on the part of lakhs of our people. This should stand him in good stead in the difficult days and weeks ahead.

INDIAN EXPRESS

Bombay: Wednesday, November 14, 1984

FROM THE SADDLE

THE period of mourning over and Indira Gandhi's ashes scattered over Gangotri to be cradled in the lap of the Himalaya, Mr Rajiv Gandhi can now give undivided attention to problems of State. The Prime Minister's broadcast to the nation on Monday night was on a low key, emphasising continuity in both domestic and foreign policy. Yet there was a hint of change in his call for a new goal-oriented work ethic with rewards and punishments and a strong concern for efficiency and results. Likewise, for bold innovation to effect a transformation and pave the way to the 21st century. The statement is important for it sets the nation's sights on the future and underlines the generational change effected in the country's political leadership which could be full of promise.

There is evidence of younger talent being harnessed in the induction into the innermost councils of the Government and ruling party of men like Mr Arun Singh, Mr Arun Nehru and Mr Fotedar. These are as yet untried men and the Prime Minister will have to ensure a happy blend of youth and experience within a well-defined frame of action if different elements, the bureaucracy, the older political leadership and the rising stars, are not to pull in different directions. The style of government will be important and could in itself shape the formulation and implementation of policy. Mr Gandhi is himself new to administration and will need to avoid being associated with a cabal and to be seen to widen his circle of advisers and be receptive to ideas irrespective of the source from which they emanate. In this his relations with the Opposition and public and professional opinion will be important and his willingness to hear voices from the States and villages. He must remember that India lives and works at many levels and he should find entree to each one of these and not be cocooned at the "Centre." He has to build a new consensus - not only on education, which he has promised, but on much else besides. His emphasis on poverty eradication, rural development, the weaker sections, employment, productivity, secularism and the need to fight corruption are all relevant. So also his call for peace and good neighbourliness, especially with Pakistan. Having spelt out his goals and stated his Government's commitment to the unity and integrity of the country as paramount, Mr Gandhi must be given a fair chance to prove his mettle.

The son also rises

MR. Rajiv Gandhi's succession to the highest political office in India has not come as a surprise. Ever since the death of his volatile younger brother in a plane crash four years ago, he was being methodically groomed for the job under the protective care of his late mother. Though initially labelled by the opposition as a deplorable move to perpetuate dynastic rule in India, Rajiv's soft induction into the political system was gradually accepted as one of the imperatives inherent in the political ethos of Third World countries. A Commercial pilot by training, Rajiv is said to be a soft-spoken gentleman of mild temperament, who was a reluctant entrant in politics; an image not considered an asset for a successful career in politics. His youth and inexperience, though regarded by many as a handicap may well prove to be a blessing for making a beginning with a clean slate and an open mind free from the hangover of the unscrupulous manipulations and cut-throat jealousies of the Old Guard.

Rajiv Gandhi's ascendancy in politics marks the beginning of a new era in Indian politics. He belongs to the post-independence generation and his perceptions of the gigantic problems that confront his country would perhaps be different from his predecessors. The first real test of his political maturity would be his ability to go through the general elections and his success in capturing the imagination of the electorate. If he succeeds in gaining political mileage out of Mrs. Gandhi's 'martyrdom' and sweeps the polls, he will firmly establish himself as a leader in his own right, and will then be able to look forward to a long innings in Indian politics. Considering the hopeless disarray in the ranks of the opposition and the absence of a serious contender for national leadership, Rajiv is not likely to encounter any worthwhile challenge as long as he can manage to hold his party together.

Regardless of the power and the prestige the office of the Prime Minister enjoys in India, the job is not as glamorous as it appears to be. The occupant of this high office has a formidable task to accomplish and young Rajiv Gandhi will require the sagacity of a statesman and the patience of a monk to cope with them. His ultimate success would depend not only on his ability to stay in power but on his capacity to deal with problems that have the potential to disrupt the foundations of democratic institutions in India. Regional conflicts, communalism, political violence — all are capable of destroying the system which offered Rajiv Gandhi the enviable opportunity of succeeding the Prime Ministership of India in such a smooth manner. It is a befitting tribute to the democratic process and rule of law that succession to Mrs. Gandhi, a towering personality who dominated Indian politics for so long, was so quickly facilitated. In order to preserve democratic institutions and to ensure the unhindered continuance of democratic process the man on the top needs to acquire a democratic frame of mind. The tragic assassination of his mother would perhaps convince the new Prime Minister of India the futility of resorting to force in order to deal with political dissidents.

FUNERAL DIPLOMACY

World Political and Religious Leaders Are Unanimous in Grief and Outrage

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Oct. 31 — Political and religious leaders in all parts of the world today fiercely condemned the assassination of Indira Gandhi and, with a rare unanimity that cut across all ideological boundaries, praised her as a champion of her people.

President Konstantin U. Chernenko of the Soviet Union expressed as much wrath and grief as President Reagan or as politicians in Africa and Asia who had worked closely with the slain Indian leader in the nonaligned movement.

Many of those who spoke in the first hours after Mrs. Gandhi died portrayed the killing as an assault on democracy everywhere and some said they feared for the continued unity of India.

Nowhere was the reaction stronger than in Britain, a country with powerful links to the subcontinent forged in a colonial past and maintained through the Commonwealth, and also the country where Mrs. Gandhi attended school and studied briefly at university.

Thatcher Appeared Shattered

Queen Elizabeth II, the head of the Commonwealth, of which India is the largest member, said she was "profoundly shocked" and declared that the world had lost one of its "most distinguished leaders."

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, whose politics differed sharply from Mrs. Gandhi's, appeared shattered by the news. Dressed in black, she told the House of Commons that India had been "robbed of a leader of incomparable courage, vision and humanity." She herself, Mrs. Thatcher added, would "feel greatly the loss of a wise colleague and a close personal friend."

"Only a few days ago," the Prime Minister said, "Mrs. Gandhi sent me a message in which she said, 'All terrorism and violence are condemnable and contemptible.'"

Mrs. Thatcher, who narrowly escaped death earlier this month when an Irish Republican Army bomb destroyed part of a hotel in Brighton where she was staying, later seemed close to tears as she spoke about Mrs. Gandhi in an interview with Austrian Television.

She said they had talked often. The Indian Prime Minister was never daunted by threats on her life, Mrs. Thatcher continued, saying that other democratic leaders must follow her example.

Britons to Attend Funeral

Tonight it was announced that the Prime Minister would fly to New Delhi Friday for the funeral on Saturday, accompanied by the leaders of Britain's other major, political parties. They joined in the Commons in denouncing the assassination as the act of barbarians, with Neil Kinnock, the Labor Party leader, terming Mrs. Gandhi "a woman of immense stature whose life was full of turmoil, challenge and achievement."

Princess Anne, the Queen's daughter, who has been touring India on behalf of the Save the Children Fund, canceled her engagements and flew to the funeral, along with prominent persons from many countries, including the West German Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and several heads of state.

Flags at Somerville College, Oxford University, were lowered to half-staff. Mrs. Gandhi studied there in 1937, withdrawing because of ill health; she was made an honorary fellow in 1969 and was awarded an honorary degree five years later.

Sir Shridath Ramphal, the Secretary General of the Commonwealth, who had known Mrs. Gandhi well, said in a statement that she "combined so uniquely compassion and courage, grace and determination, humility and pride, a passion for India but also a soul for wider humanity."

Pope John Paul II, the target of an attempted assassination in 1981, told pilgrims in Rome that the Indian leader's death provoked universal horror and dismay. Similar comments were made by Dr. Robert Runcie, the leader of the world's Anglicans, and by other leading churchmen.

Remarks of Former Enemies

Even former enemies of India and of Mrs. Gandhi expressed shock.

A Government spokesman in Peking described her as an outstanding woman of state who had helped to improve relations between the two countries. India and China fought a frontier war in 1962 when Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs. Gandhi's father, was Prime Minister.

General Mohammad Zia ul-Haq, the military ruler of neighboring Pakistan, said he was horrified. Despite decades of religious and political struggle with India, Pakistan declared several days of mourning, as did Sri Lanka.

Mr. Chernenko said in a message to Mrs. Gandhi's son and successor, Rajiv, that "the Soviet people have

learned with pain and grief of the premature death of the glorious daughter of the great Indian nation through an evil assassination." In another message, the Kremlin leadership said that all Soviet citizens "wrathfully condemn the criminals and their patrons who have raised their hands against the outstanding leader of India."

The official Tass news agency published a commentary accusing the Central Intelligence Agency and other Western intelligence services of carrying out a campaign of subversion in India through "the closest possible links" with several Sikh extremist groups. It said the agency had been involved in many political assassinations in the subcontinent, but made no direct reference to Mrs. Gandhi's death.

Soviet television devoted 15 minutes to the assassination tonight, reporting it in detail to indicate its importance.

Elsewhere in Eastern Europe, Hungary blamed forces which opposed Mrs. Gandhi's "anti-imperialist policy" for her assassination.

In Paris, President François Mitterrand called Mrs. Gandhi "an uncompromising patriot" and praised her for her work on behalf of the underdeveloped nations. In Stockholm, the Swedish Prime Minister, Olof Palme, said that Mrs. Gandhi had been an active and effective campaigner for peace who was badly needed in a time of rising tension and conflict.

Andreas Papandreu, the Socialist Prime Minister of Greece, said her death created a void in the ranks of those concerned about North-South relations and about world disarmament. He has been a steadfast backer of Mrs. Gandhi's neutralist policies

even when other Western political figures felt them to be seriously misguided.

Leaders in the Middle East including Yasir Arafat, the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, mourned her as a steadfast friend of the Arab countries.

President Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania and President Kenneth D. Kaunda of Zambia, longtime colleagues in the nonaligned movement, expressed great personal grief. The Kenyan leader, Daniel arap Moi, said that Mrs. Gandhi would be remembered for having "returned the movement to the right track" when she took over its leadership last year amid charges that Fidel Castro was trying to link it to the Soviet bloc.

The World Leaders At the Gandhi Funeral

NEW DELHI, Nov. 3 (AP) — Following are the officials who were designated to represent their countries and international organizations at the funeral today of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. The list is based on information from the governments and organizations and the Indian Foreign Ministry.

Arab League: Clovis Maksoud, United Nations representative
Afghanistan: Prime Minister Soltan Ali Keshmand
Algeria: Prime Minister Abdelhamid Brahimi
Argentina: Vice President Victor Martínez
Bangladesh: President E. M. Ershad
Belgium: Deputy Prime Minister Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb
Bhutan: King Jigme Wangchuk
Britain: Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Princess Anne
Burma: Ne Win
Cambodia: Heng Samrin, People's Council President
Canada: Foreign Secretary Joe Clark
Czechoslovakia: Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal
Cyprus: President Spyros Kyprianou
Finland: Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa
France: Prime Minister Laurent Fabius
Greece: Prime Minister Andreas Papan-dreu
Guyana: Prime Minister Hugh Desmond Hoyte
Ireland: Prime Minister Garret FitzGer-ald
Italy: Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti
Japan: Prime Minister Yasuhiro Naka-sone
Laos: President Souphanouvong
Libya: Miftah al-Usta, Congress Secretary General
Madagascar: Didier Ratsiraka, head of state
Malaysia: Deputy Prime Minister Musa Hitam
Maldives: Foreign Minister Fathulla Ja-meel
Mauritius: Prime Minister Aneerood Jug-nauth
Nepal: Prime Minister Lokendra Bahadur Chand
The Netherlands: Prince Claus
New Zealand: Prime Minister David Lange
Norway: Foreign Minister Sverre Stray
Pakistan: President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq
Philippines: Imelda Marcos
Poland: President Henryk Jablonski
Portugal: Prime Minister Mário Soares
Soviet Union: Prime Minister Nikolai A. Tikhonov
Spain: Prime Minister Felipe González
Sri Lanka: President J. R. Jayewardene
Tanzania: President Julius K. Nyerere
Turkey: Deputy Prime Minister Kaya Erdem
Uganda: President Milton Obote

United Arab Emirates: Sheikh Hamdan ibn Muhammed al-Nuhayyan
United Nations: Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar
United States: Secretary of State George P. Shultz
Vietnam: Truong Chinh, State Council Chairman
West Germany: Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher
Yemen: Prime Minister Abd al-Aziz Abd al-Ghani
Yugoslavia: President Veselin Djuranovic and Prime Minister Milka Planinc
Zambia: President Kenneth D. Kaunda
Zimbabwe: Prime Minister Robert Mu-gabe



Associated Press

PAKISTANI AT RITE: President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq joined mourners at the funeral. He has expressed desire to improve relations with India.

THE US RESPONSE

U.S. Voices Dismay; Closer Ties Sought

Officials Planned Indian Visit

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Reagan administration reacted with shock and dismay yesterday to the assassination of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, which came only a few weeks after President Reagan ordered a more forthcoming U.S. attitude toward India in an attempt to improve bilateral relations.

In a secret National Security Council directive several weeks ago, according to official sources, Reagan authorized new bilateral discussions with India in an attempt to break a logjam over sales of American high technology with potential military application.

A U.S. team headed by State Department officials is expected to visit New Delhi, probably this month, to begin these talks.

The directive grew out of an interagency study started last June, about the time of the Indian Army raid in Amritsar on the the Sikh minority's holy Golden Temple. The bloody incident deepened U.S. concern about India's stability and about relations between India and Pakistan. The passion generated among Sikhs by

See RESPONSE, A30, Col. 3.

Shultz Heads Delegation To Funeral

RESPONSE, From A1

the raid and associated events led to Gandhi's assassination.

Administration sources were cautious in predicting a future course for India, the subcontinent and U.S.-Indian relations, largely because of uncertainty about the political power and personal strength of her successor and son, Rajiv. Officials described the new prime minister as an unknown quantity whose brief political life has been in his mother's shadow.

For example, Rajiv Gandhi made it known that he wanted to attend the Los Angeles Olympic Games last summer, an official said, but his mother reportedly said no.

A "spasm of violence" of unknown dimensions is likely in the immediate future as followers of the slain prime minister seek retribution on the Sikhs, according to official estimates. For this reason, the State Department issued a travel advisory shortly after receiving news of the slaying, telling Americans "to consider deferring their travel [to India] until the situation becomes clearer" and recommending caution on the part of Americans already there.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz is to head a U.S. delegation to Gandhi's funeral in New Delhi Saturday, the White House announced. Vice President Bush, who might have headed such a delegation under normal circumstances, opted to fulfill campaign commitments in the final weekend before the U.S. presidential election.

Reagan, expressing "shock, revulsion and grief" over the assassination, joined Shultz in a visit here to the Indian Embassy, where they expressed condolences to Indian Ambassador K. Shankar Bajpai.

U.S.-Indian relations were often tense during Gandhi's rule but seemed to improve after her visit to Washington in 1982. She was accompanied by Rajiv, who sat on the sidelines and said little.

By all accounts, Reagan and Mrs. Gandhi got along well personally. Their last exchange, in early September, was prompted by U.S. refusal to permit hijackers of an Indian Airlines plane to come here from Dubai as they had requested. Gandhi wrote Reagan in appreciation for this decision, according to White House officials.

The president, in reply, is reported to have written that the international community, working together, can halt terrorist acts. Reagan referred to this exchange in a statement yesterday, saying, "Her senseless murder serves as a vivid reminder of the terrorist threat we all confront."

Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah), who urged in a Senate speech May 19 that the United States develop an "India card" to woo New Delhi from its close relationship with the

Soviet Union, commented in the wake of the assassination that "this is the time for us to do what we can to arrange a better relationship."

Hatch said Gandhi's visit here and Shultz's visit to New Delhi in June 1983 have "laid the groundwork for a new U.S.-India strategic relationship" and that he detected "some movement" in recent months to build on that foundation.

The visit of U.S. warships to the southern Indian port of Cochin last February and to Bombay in May were the first such port calls in India for 13 years and were seen by some as a symbol of improving military relations.

In mid-July, Gen. A.S. Vaidya, chief of staff of the Indian Armed Forces, made an official visit to Washington. In late September, students and staff of the Indian National Defense College visited the Pentagon and U.S. bases and were received by Bush.

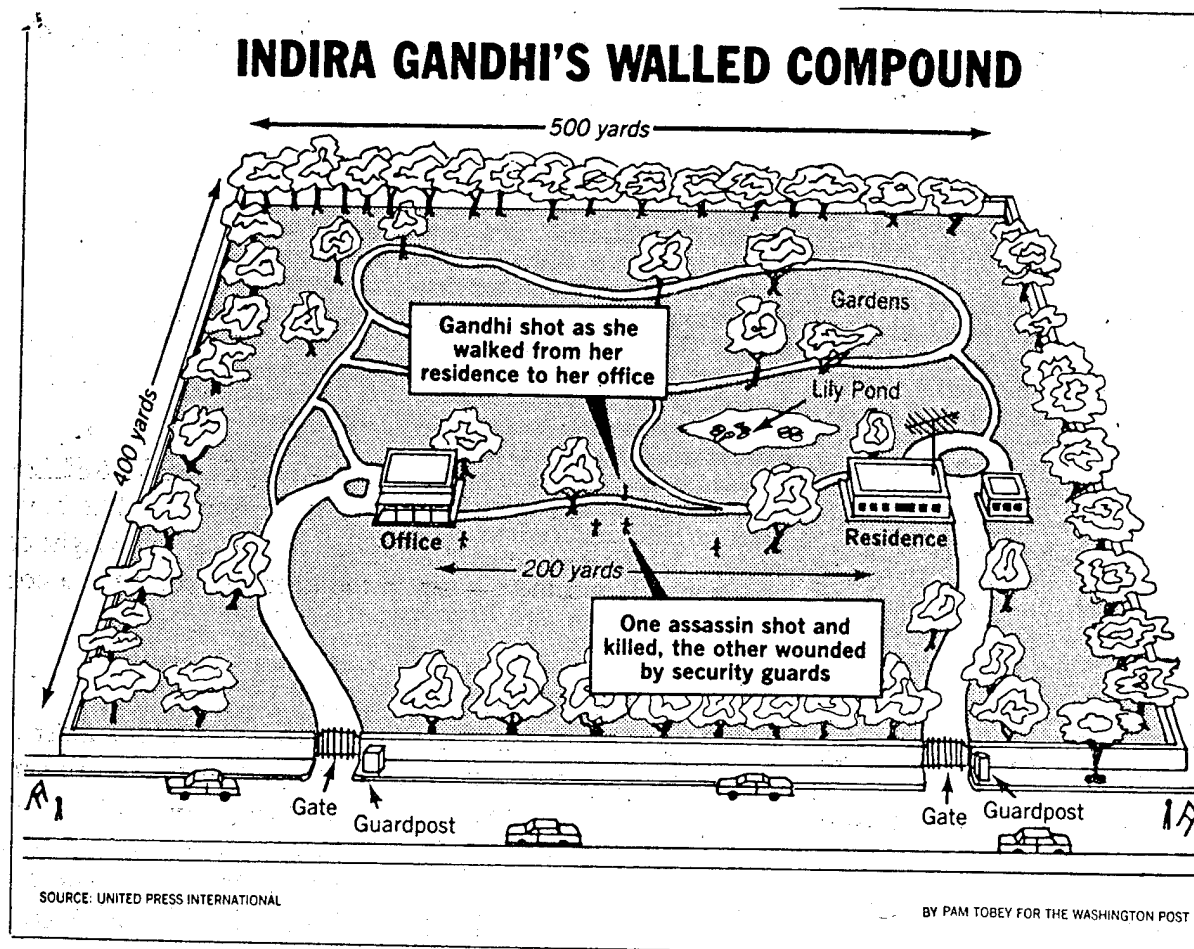
The most serious limiting factor in U.S. relations with India has been Washington's relations with India's neighbor, rival and recurrent foe, Pakistan. The Reagan administration has expanded relations with Pakistan, including a \$3.2 billion U.S. military aid program, generating Indian protest.

In mid-September, the State Department expressed concern about "a temporary cooling in Indo-Pakistani relations," including low-level clashes along the cease-fire line in Kashmir and cancellation of talks.

The statement was issued after a leak of U.S. intelligence reports that India was considering a strike at Pakistani nuclear facilities.

Another problem for the United States has been India's treaty of friendship and other ties with the Soviets. Some in and outside of the administration consider India untrustworthy because of this, while others urge efforts to woo India and limit the Soviet tie.

To a great degree, India has been peripheral to U.S. strategic planning. This is symbolized by the boundary of the Pentagon's Central Command, established in 1983 to enhance U.S. readiness in a broad swath of the Middle East and Africa. The command includes Pakistan but ends at its border with India.



Reagan Visits Indian Embassy

President Offers Condolences on Leader's Death

By Caryle Murphy
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Reagan briefly visited a somber and subdued Indian Embassy yesterday to convey personal condolences on the death of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, telling Indian Ambassador K. Shankar Bajpai that "no words can express" his feelings.

During his five-minute visit to the embassy on Massachusetts Avenue NW shortly after 10 a.m., the president was ushered into a first-floor reception room where he was the first to sign a condolence book, which sat next to a framed photograph of Gandhi on a table draped in black cloth.

As Reagan sat at the table signing the book, a hush fell on the group of embassy personnel who met the president and his party, which included Secretary of State George P. Shultz and White House chief of staff James A. Baker. The only sound was a ringing telephone that went unanswered in an upstairs office.

After speaking briefly with the ambassador, the president left. Afterward, Bajpai, who appeared shaken and tired, said that Gandhi's assassination "is a terrible loss

in terms of leadership and personality. And it's going to be hard to replace her. It's also a great shock for the people of India that she should have been shot like this. The damage to the psyche is going to take some time to overcome."

Bajpai, a thickset, soft-spoken man, said he learned of Gandhi's assassination when he was called by an embassy employee late Tuesday night. He had been up most of the night and had already given several television interviews.

Early yesterday morning the embassy's telephone was ringing constantly as grim-faced officials came in with attache cases and newspapers. An official told staff members to put signs on the front and delivery doors saying the embassy would be closed for the day. Security guards at the door eagerly read a final edition of The Washington Post with details of the bloody assassination just outside Gandhi's home.

"It's the worst for the country," said one embassy staffer when asked how he felt. "But this shows her bravery. Despite what was happening, she kept Sikhs in her security guard. That shows her fearlessness and her courage."

Gandhi recently had received assassination threats. "The country is a democracy. They will choose another man," the embassy employe said.

About 9:20 a.m. three men rushed in the front door and identified themselves as U.S. Secret Service to the official in charge. Ambassador Bajpai, who was out of the embassy giving an interview to a cable television network, was called and informed of the president's impending visit. At the embassy, quick but efficient preparations for the visit began.

Several employes removed a long conference table from the reception hall that would receive the president and placed it in a library across the hall. A small table covered with a black cloth was positioned in front of wall-to-ceiling frosted and stained glass windows.

An embassy employe stood on a chair in the lobby and removed the black-and-white photograph of Indira Gandhi. The employe wore a maroon turban and was unshaven, the distinguishing marks of a Sikh. He placed the photograph on a windowsill in the reception room next to the small table. Another portrait of the slain prime minister was placed on the table. An older embassy employe brought in newly bought flowers, but there was no time to place them on the table before the president arrived.

There were no tears, but the mood of those at the embassy was of quiet shock. Some were apprehensive at what might happen next.

"I'm mostly concerned, since this is a violent act, to not let it divide the community here," said Satish Survanshi, an investment broker who has been in the United States for 12 years. He said he and other Indian Americans want "to try to contain any racial tensions here, . . . to make sure we don't create any ill will toward the Sikh community."

Survanshi said his wife's parents' home was burned in the violence that followed Mohandas K. (Mahatma) Gandhi's assassination in 1948 because they belonged to the same caste as the assassin. He said he hoped this kind of retaliation would not be repeated now against Sikhs.

Survanshi and several other local Indians had come to the embassy to convey their sympathy to the ambassador and were milling about in the lobby, where a painting of Mahatma Gandhi hangs on one wall and a large photograph of the country's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi's father, graces another.

Shultz had arrived at the embassy about 15 minutes before President Reagan. He and the ambassador sat and talked quietly on a yellow sofa in the reception room while they waited for the president. After the president left Shultz and Baker signed the book.

Only a British television crew, filming for Indian television, was permitted to record the president as he signed the condolence book.

Next to his signature, President Reagan wrote, "May I offer my deepest sympathy to the people of India on this sad day. The world has suffered a great loss. To our friends in India: accept our pledge of continued friendship as we share your sorrow."

Throughout the day people entered to sign the condolence book as the Indian flag flew at half staff. Many people sent flowers. And the shock began to turn to sorrow. An embassy employe sitting at a desk in the library answered a call, then began to sob quietly.

Washington Post staff writer Carla Hall contributed to this report.

Text of Statement by Shultz in India

NEW DELHI, Nov. 3 (AP) — Following is the text of a statement given to reporters today by Secretary of State George P. Shultz after he met with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi:

This is a sad day for India, the United States and people who stand for democracy around the world. Let it also be a day when India can be proud of the legacy of Indira Gandhi, who stood for India's commitment to democracy, peace and justice. I had the honor today to meet with India's new Prime Minister. I told him of President Reagan's personal sense of respect and admiration for Indira Gandhi and of the President's desire to continue the fruitful dialogue and renewed positive trend in Indo-American relations that have taken shape over the past few years.

'Confidence in the Future'

This is also a day for confidence in the future. As I told the Prime Minister at the outset of our meeting, the American Government has no doubt as to that future. Your new Prime Minister has spoken of his mother's dream of a united, peaceful and prosperous India. He has called upon India to complete her unfinished work. The United States has utmost confidence that the people of India will meet this challenge. And as a good friend, the United States stands ready to help insure the future, a future which in view of the manifest resourcefulness of the Indian people, their commitment to constitutional government and the Prime Minister's leadership, is full of promise.

I speak for all Americans when I tell you how profoundly shocked we were by the brutal act of terrorism which has caused us to gather here today. It was an action which stands condemned by all civilized people. Terrorism, of which this is such a truly frightful example, has become the scourge of our times. It has touched the lives of all. We are diminished by it wherever it occurs, as we are diminished today by the murder of Mrs. Gandhi. Let us, I plead, rededicate ourselves to the task of insuring that terrorism will not succeed in its deeply cruel and disruptive purposes.

Other Assassinations Recalled

India, a country which gave the word and thought of nonviolence to the world, knows well the hand of terrorism, the hand that on the very morning of her independence struck down Mahatma Gandhi, the inspiration and father of independence. In the United States we have not been spared. Twenty-one years ago this month, John F. Kennedy was struck down by an assassin's bullet. President Reagan, three years ago was the target of a mindless assassination attempt. But both India and the United States have shown the strength, re-

siliency and vibrancy of democracy in their times of crisis. And so we know that the Indian people and their leaders, as we did in our days of trial, will have strength in their sadness, and draw strength from their commitment to democracy.

In this spirit I today reaffirmed to the Prime Minister America's strong commitment to India's independence, unity and territorial integrity, as well as to stability through the Subcontinent. I assured him that the United States would continue to work closely with India in pursuit of the many mutual goals we share.

Invitation to Visit Washington

I gave the Prime Minister a personal message from the President, in which he invites the Prime Minister to visit Washington for talks early in 1985.

I was joined in my meeting today by this distinguished delegation which includes Majority Leader of the Senate, Senator Baker, and the distinguished senator from New York, Senator Moynihan. The collective experience of this delegation in India, stretching back nearly the entire course of independent India's history, is an impressive demonstration of the deep interest of prominent Americans in Indian life. And I can tell you that their emotions, just now as they greeted your new Prime

Minister, whom several of them have known closely for years, were heartwarming and deep.

'Enduring Relationship'

Here today in this delegation are four distinguished Americans who have served in India as Ambassador. Over the years their stature has represented the esteem we have for India and they, in turn, have honored our nation by their distinguished service. I am proud to bring such a delegation to India. Ambassadors Goheen, Moynihan, Galbraith and Cooper are representative of a tradition stretching back to the warm Indo-American relations during the great era of Prime Minister Nehru, a relationship and legacy that we seek to reaffirm today.

Our two lands, the United States and India, have a firm and enduring relationship, one that is based on our common democratic heritage, our long history of a rewarding association, our rich web of personal ties, our shared interest in ever-expanding mutual support and cooperation.

We share the important goals of peace and stability in South Asia and over all the globe. We look forward to working closely, productively and in the highest of mutual regard with the new Government of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.



Associated Press

AMERICANS PAY RESPECTS: Secretary of State George P. Shultz at ceremony in New Delhi. With him are John Kenneth Galbraith, the economist, who was Ambassador to India from 1961 to 1963, and Mary McDonald of Lincolnwood, Ill., a trustee of the Association of Indians in America.

Shultz Has a 'Good Meeting' With the Soviet Premier

Special to The New York Times

NEW DELHI, Nov. 3 — Secretary of State George P. Shultz met here tonight with the Soviet Prime Minister, Nikolai A. Tikhonov, and later said they had had "a good meeting."

The talks between the two men, who were among nearly 100 foreign dignitaries here for the funeral of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, constituted the first high-level contact between the United States and the Soviet Union since President Reagan met the Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei A. Gromyko, in Washington last month.

Earlier Mr. Shultz met with India's new Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, son of the late Prime Minister, who raised with the Secretary of State the question of India's concern about American arms sales to Pakistan as well as Islamabad's nuclear program.

A Number of Topics

The Secretary of State was also expected to confer with President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan, whom Mr. Shultz said he had already chatted with informally as the two men rode together to the cremation ground known as Shantivan.

Mr. Shultz, talking to reporters after meeting with Mr. Tikhonov at the Soviet Embassy, said: "We touched on a number of topics, including the desire of the United States for a constructive relationship with the Soviet Union." He said that the Soviet side "had expressed similar sentiments."

Mr. Shultz said he and Prime Minister Tikhonov did not discuss the stalled nuclear arms talks between Moscow and Washington.

But the Secretary of State said that he brought up "forcefully" with Mr. Tikhonov the American displeasure at at-

tempts by Soviet news organizations to link the United States to the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi.

"He said he had looked into it and that the Soviet Union had no such view," Mr. Shultz said. "He suggested I was wrong," he added, to interpret Soviet reports in that light.

In the Soviet press, accounts of the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi have been juxtaposed with strident dispatches from a current anti-American propaganda campaign in which the United States is accused of sponsoring "state terrorism" around the world. On Thursday a commentary in Pravda asserted that the Central Intelligence Agency had sponsored a series of operations to foment separatism in India, and a Tass dispatch charged that Sikh extremists had close ties to Western intelligence services and that Sikh "extremists and spies" arrested in October had admitted having been trained in Pakistan under the supervision of the C.I.A.

'Sympathy, Respect and Support'

In his talks with the new Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Shultz said, he expressed the "sympathy, respect and support of the United States for the independence and integrity of India." He told reporters that the United States supported Pakistan because of the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan and because Pakistan needed help with the large number of refugees from Afghanistan.

He said that he and India's new Prime Minister did not discuss the internal situation in India, where several days of violence have raised doubts about the country's political future. However, Mr. Shultz also met today with India's Home Minister, P. V. Narasimha Rao, as the Indian Army moved troops into the capital for the first time since the subcontinent was partitioned in 1947.

The Secretary of State said that he extended to Mr. Gandhi an invitation to visit the United States to open a "festival of India" that the late Mrs. Gandhi had planned to attend.

'A Sort of Quiet Strength'

He said the Prime Minister "wants to come." Mr. Shultz said that Mr. Gandhi "came through with a sort of quiet strength that I found reassuring." The Secretary of State said he told the Prime Minister that the United States wanted to be "good friends" with India. During Mrs. Gandhi's years in office, relations between the two countries were often cool.

After his talks with Mr. Tikhonov, Mr. Shultz went on to a meeting with the Chinese delegation that was here for the funeral ceremonies.

That delegation is headed by Deputy Prime Minister Yao Yilin.

The Secretary of State said he had also met with officials from Sri Lanka, Britain and Japan.

In another meeting with possible significance for improvement in East-West relations, West Germany's Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, talked today with the head of the East German legislature, Horst Sindermann. The meeting was the highest-level encounter between the two Germans since the cancellation by Erich Honecker, the East German leader, of a visit to Bonn in September, and a Western diplomat characterized it as interesting.

Mr. Shultz was accompanied to New Delhi by his Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, Richard R. Burt. The delegation also included four former American Ambassadors to India — John Kenneth Galbraith, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, John Sherman Cooper and Robert Goheen — as well as Senator Howard Baker, the Republican minority leader.

Rajiv concerned at U.S. arms supply

NEW DELHI, Nov. 3.—The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, today conveyed to U.S. Secretary of State India's serious concern at the supply of sophisticated arms to Pakistan, reports UNI.

Mr George Shultz, who has come here at the head of high-level delegation to attend Mrs Gandhi's funeral, told the new Prime Minister of America's desire for improved relations with India. Mr Gandhi said a good base already existed for building such ties. India attached great importance to its friendship with the USA, he added.

Mr Shultz assured him of America's "fullest support" for a strong and stable India.

Giving his assessment of the deteriorating security environment in this region, Mr Gandhi expressed India's deep anxiety at the reported nuclear weapons pro-

gramme undertaken by Pakistan.

Mr Shultz felt that two great democracies should strengthen their friendly relations through more frequent contacts and exchanges at various levels.

At first the two leaders met by themselves, and later they were joined by their senior aides.

Mr Gandhi was assisted by Mr G. Parthasarathy, Chairman of the Policy Planning Committee in the External Affairs Ministry, and Dr P.C. Alexander, Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister.

Our Special Representative says that Mr Shultz extended to Mr Gandhi President Reagan's invitation to him to visit Washington for talks early in 1985 and to open the Festival of India, which Indira Gandhi had planned to do. The invitation formed part of the message which Mr Reagan has

(Continued from page 7 col 8)

(Continued from page 1 col 8)

sent to Mr Gandhi through his Secretary of State.

Mr Shultz, who came at the head of a delegation of Senators, Congressmen and four former U.S. Ambassadors in India, Mr John Kenneth Galbraith, Mr S. Cooper, Mr Robert Goheen and Mr Patrick Moynihan, conveyed to Mr Gandhi the U.S. President's personal sense of respect and admiration for Indira Gandhi.

In a statement, Mr Shultz said: "This is a sad day for India, the USA and the people who stand for democracy around the world". Yet it was a day when India could be proud of the legacy of Indira Gandhi who "spoke for India's commitment to democracy, peace and justice. I speak for all Americans when I tell you how profoundly shocked we were by the brutal act of terrorism which caused us to gather here today. It was an action which stands condemned by all civilized people", Mr Shultz added.

The U.S. leader said he had reaffirmed to the Prime Minister America's strong commitment to India's independence, unity and territorial integrity as well as to stability throughout the subcontinent. "I assured him that the USA would continue to work closely with India in pursuit of the many mutual goals we share", Mr Shultz said.

Mr Gandhi exchanged views with several other world leaders currently here. By the nature of things, they could not be described as a formal exchange of views, but he and his visitors, nevertheless, took the opportunity to share a few thoughts on matters of mutual interest.

Mr Gandhi, who had had meetings yesterday with the Soviet Prime Minister, Mr Tikhonov, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and the Yugoslav President, Mr Vasilin Djuranovic, among others, had discussions today with the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr Yasuhiro Nakasone, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, British Prime Minister, Mr Aneerood Jugnauth, Mauritius Prime Minister, Mr Spgros Kyprianou, President of Cyprus and Dr Julius Nyerere, of Tanzania.

Gandhi Sets New Directions

Seeks Better U.S. Ties, 'New Work Ethic'

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Foreign Service

NEW DELHI, Nov. 12—Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, in his first policy address since becoming leader of the world's largest democracy, said tonight that India values its "time-tested" ties to the Soviet Union but will also pursue a "multifaceted relationship" with the United States.

In a nationally televised speech the day after ending 12 days of mourning for his mother, assassinated prime minister Indira Gandhi, the new Indian leader committed himself to "build the India of her dreams." But he also outlined new approaches, pledging to modernize his administration and make it "more goal-oriented" with a "new work ethic."

He reaffirmed India's adherence to socialism but said that the private sector—backed by new technology—has the capacity to enhance the productive potential of the economy.

"We must have the courage to boldly innovate, for change is demanded in our methods of work," he said, in a speech that appeared to be

See INDIA, A22, Col. 1

INDIA, From A1

an attempt to give a progressive cast to his new leadership on the eve of a crucial parliamentary election campaign. "As we build today, so will be the tomorrow. Together we will build for an India of the 21st century."

He promised that those who strive toward rebuilding India will enjoy his protection from interference or political pressure, but he warned that "I also want to tell them that no quarter will be given to the corrupt, the lazy and the inefficient."

"Our administration must become more goal-oriented. A new work ethic, a new culture must be evolved in which the government is result-bound and not procedure-bound," said Gandhi, who long has had an interest in computer technology.

Gandhi, 40, who was educated in the West and has an Italian-born wife, entered politics only three years ago, following the death of his brother, Sanjay, in a stunt plane accident. Before that, Rajiv Gandhi had been a pilot for Indian Airlines, and had eschewed the political career that four generations of the Nehru family had followed.

In a conciliatory tone, Gandhi said today that secularism is the "bedrock of our nationhood," and that answering sectarian violence with hatred and intolerance would only further divide India.

He also said he wanted to develop closer relationships with India's neighbors, particularly Pakistan, with which India has fought three wars in the past 37 years.

Of India's relationship with the Soviet Union and the United States, Gandhi said, "We have always been friends with the East and the West, as they are called, and we want better relations between them." He added, "We attach importance to our economic, technological and cultural cooperation with the United States."

Earlier in the day, as expected, Gandhi was unanimously elected by the Congress (I) Party's governing body to succeed his mother as party president, a post that also was held by his great-grandfather, Motilal Nehru; his grandfather, Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first prime minister; and Mohandas K. Gandhi, who led India to independence from British rule (and is no relation).

Party official Kamalapati Tripathi, who presided over the meeting, told Gandhi, "With the addition of this responsibility, now you are carrying a huge burden on your shoulders. We, the Congress men, will cooperate with you and assist you."

The meeting was attended by 71 state and national party leaders. While the committee is not empowered to set a date for parliamentary elections, it urged Gandhi to hold balloting on schedule before the mandatory reconstitution of the Parliament on Jan. 20. Gandhi reportedly said he would consult the chief ministers of the states about a date for the election, which is expected the last week of December or the first week of January.

Gandhi told the party leaders that before his mother was assassinated by Sikh bodyguards on Oct. 31, she had warned Indians about the dangers the nation faced from divisive and subversive forces. He added, "We must understand what Mrs. Gandhi wanted to tell us."

Echoing a theme often sounded by his mother, Gandhi accused the opposition parties of playing into the hands of "disruptive forces" that, he said, are bent upon breaking up the country. He said these forces include "extremists working from within and outside," but he did not specify from where.

Gandhi, who had been one of five general secretaries of the party, was not present for the vote on his accession to the leadership, and he remained at the party headquarters for only about 30 minutes before returning to his office.

With the end of the mourning period for the assassinated prime minister, Gandhi arrived this morning at the office that his mother had occupied for nearly 16 years and was conducted into the wood-paneled suite by P.C. Alexander, his and his mother's principal secretary and adviser. It was Gandhi's first visit to the office since his swearing-in Oct. 31.

The newly appointed police commissioner for New Delhi, S.S. Jog, announced today that an internal inquiry will be held into the "limitations, drawbacks and also failures" of the 35,000-man police force in its handling of the wave of arson, looting and murder that followed the assassination.

Jog, whom Gandhi appointed in a shakeup of the police command following charges that police abetted—and even participated in—murder of Sikhs and looting of their property, said in a press conference that "the failures will not—definitely—be let off." Jog, in an effort to restore the public's confidence in the police, said "everyone" in the force will come under scrutiny.

Meanwhile, a New Delhi-based correspondent for the Canadian Broadcasting Corp., arrested by police in Punjab Saturday for violating a ban on entry of foreigners into the state, was ordered by a magistrate to be held until a hearing on Nov. 21, according to the United News of India agency.

The correspondent, Jonathan Mann, was arrested in the Golden Temple compound in Amritsar, the agency said. The ban on foreigners in Punjab was imposed several days before the Indian Army forcibly entered the holy Sikh shrine on June 5 to clear it of rebellious Sikh separatists.

The Punjab State government was reported today to have banned for two months the transporting into the state of any publications containing news or editorial matter concerning the aftermath of the assassination. The ban was imposed under a "special power press act" that also prohibits the transmission from the state of any news that concerns security.

THE CHINESE RESPONSE

Yao Yilin Meets Rajiv

OW041637 Beijing XINHUA in English 1625 GMT 4 Nov 84

[Text] New Delhi, November 4 (XINHUA) — New Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi received Yao Yilin, special envoy of the Chinese Government and vice-premier, at his official residence here this afternoon.

Yao Yilin, on behalf of Premier Zhao Ziyang, the Chinese Government, and in his own name expressed deep condolences on the death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Yao praised the late prime minister as an outstanding stateswoman of India, saying that "in recent years, the Sino-Indian relations have improved and developed steadily. Mrs. Indira Gandhi had made personal contributions to this development. Contributions we will not forget."

China and India, he noted, have some common ground. To promote good-neighborly and friendly relations between the two countries conformed with the fundamental interests of the two peoples. "We sincerely desire to see Sino-Indian relations improved and develop further and hope that the relations could be restored to what they were in the 1950's."

Rajiv Gandhi stated that his government would continue to follow the policy pursued so far. He said he shared Yao's view on bilateral relations.

"There have been a few problems among us," he said. "We shall have time to solve them and they would be settled in due time because we, two great countries, have enjoyed a traditional friendship that can be traced several thousand years back." On behalf of Premier Zhao Ziyang, Yao invited Rajiv Gandhi to visit China at a time convenient to him and the Indian prime minister accepted the invitation with pleasure.

The Gandhi Assassination

SOURCE FBIS (China), 1 November 1984, p. F1 PAGES 1

REPORTAGE ON GANDHI ASSASSINATION, CONDOLENCES

Li Xiannian, Zhao Ziyang Message

OWO10646 Beijing XINHUA in English 0639 GMT 1 Nov 84

[Text] Beijing, November 1 (XINHUA) -- President of the People's Republic of China Li Xiannian and Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang yesterday jointly sent a condolence message to Indian President Zail Zingh, condoling the death of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

The message said: "Shocked to learn the sad news that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated. Mrs Gandhi is an outstanding statesman of India. She has worked unremittingly for developing the national economy of India and made an important contribution to the improvement and development of the Sino-Indian relations. We wish to express, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, our deep condolences to the Indian Government and people and our sincere sympathies to the members of the bereaved family."

Yao Yilin To Attend Funeral

OWO10916 Beijing XINHUA in English 0911 GMT 1 Nov 84

[Text] Beijing, November 1 (XINHUA) -- Special Envoy of the Government of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council Yao Yilin will go tomorrow to New Delhi by special plane to attend the funeral of Madam Indira Gandhi, according to the Foreign Ministry here this afternoon. The main members of his entourage include Deputy Foreign Minister Yao Guang.

Peking Voices Hope For Better Relations With Indian Leader

PEKING, Nov. 1 (Reuters) — Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang called today for improved ties with India as China appeared to react cautiously to the appointment of Rajiv Gandhi as the Indian Prime Minister.

The Foreign Ministry said that Yao Yilin, the second-ranking of the four Deputy Prime Ministers, would attend the funeral of Indira Gandhi. When Yuri V. Andropov died in Moscow, China sent Wan Li, the senior Deputy Prime Minister to the funeral.

Prime Minister Zhao made his remarks about closer relations on a visit to the Indian Embassy to express his condolences. Speaking with Ambassador A.P. Venkateswaran, the Chinese leader paid tribute to Mrs. Gandhi for her efforts to improve relations.

"We hope that our two sides will make joint efforts to keep this momentum and try to restore the friendly relationship to the level of the 1950's," Mr. Zhao was quoted by the New China News Agency as having said.

The assassination was "a great loss to the Indian people, the nonaligned movement and the cause of world peace," he added.

Western diplomats described the level of China's representation at the Gandhi funeral as sufficient to fulfil its obligations, without taking the opportunity to open a new page in relations.

"It is appropriate for protocol, but lower than they could have sent if they wanted to signal a desire for warmer links," a diplomat said.

China and India fought a brief border war in 1962, but have recently been moving toward closer trade and cultural exchanges. They signed a trade agreement in August granting each other most-favored-nation status. But India, which opposes Chinese policy in Cambodia, remains concerned by military ties between China and Pakistan.

China, in the middle of a modernization drive, has said it wants good relations with all its neighbors.

In September, China and India held their fifth round of talks on their disputed Himalayan frontier and agreed to move on to substantive issues in the next round.

Rajiv for improving ties with China

NEW DELHI, Nov. 4: India's new Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi today assured Chinese Vice Premier Yao Yilin that his government looked forward to improving relations with Beijing.

We look forward to better relations with China of the type which existed in the 1950s, if not better, "officials quoted Mr. Gandhi as having told Mr. Yao at a meeting here.

The two countries fought a bitter border war in 1962. Relations have started to improve in recent years but the basic border issue remains unresolved. A fourth round of talks on the frontier problem ended in Beijing Oct. 30.

Mr. Yao, heading the Chinese delegation to yesterday's funeral ceremonies for Rajiv's mother and predecessor Indira Gandhi, referred to the "centuries old friendship between the world's two most populous nations.

Officials said the Vice Premier had noted the process of improving relations had started under Mrs. Gandhi and recalled she had been invited to visit Beijing.

Mr. Yao extended a similar invitation to the new Indian leader for a visit at an convenient date.
APP/Reuter

THE PAKISTANI RESPONSE AND THE PROSPECTS FOR INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

Zia Says Talks With Gandhi Helpful

Improved Atmosphere Cited, but No Concrete Steps Taken

By William Branigin
Washington Post Foreign Service

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan, Nov. 4—Pakistani President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq said today that talks with the new Indian prime minister, Rajiv Gandhi, had improved the atmosphere between their two often hostile neighboring countries but that they produced no concrete steps toward normalization of relations.

"I am looking forward to a much better and more positive, fruitful and happy relationship between India and Pakistan in the future," Zia said. He added that Gandhi was "categorical in saying it was in the interests of both India and Pakistan that we should have good relations."

Zia said the issue of resuming talks about a nonaggression pact was not raised in his meeting today with Gandhi. However, he said he "felt there was enough understanding and desire for the talks to be resumed" once India gets over the sectarian violence that followed the assassination of prime minister Indira Gandhi.

Zia made the remark in an airport news conference on his return from New Delhi, where he attended the cremation of Indira Gandhi and met her son and political heir, Rajiv.

Pakistani Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan said the meeting with the youthful new Indian leader had "defused tensions" between the two countries.

The tensions had arisen because of fears here that India would lash out against Pakistan in its grief and rage over the assassination of Indira Gandhi by two Sikh security guards. India has accused Pakistan of aiding members of the Sikh minority who have been agitating for autonomy in India's northwestern Punjab state.

At the same time, concerns reportedly have arisen in New Delhi that Pakistan would try to take advantage of India's current unrest to avenge defeats suffered in wars against India in 1965 and 1971.

Government officials here ridicule the idea that Pakistan has any aggressive intentions against its huge neighbor, which enjoys overwhelming military superiority. The officials argue that Zia has gone out of his way to reassure India following the assassination and visited New Delhi at some personal risk.

This was the first time a Pakistani head of state has attended a state funeral in India, said a government spokesman, "much less in the charged atmosphere of crowds on the rampage in Delhi itself."

Western diplomats also said they doubted that Pakistan would try to capitalize on the turmoil in India.

Government officials said the hope here is that the accession to power of Rajiv Gandhi, who represents a new generation that grew up after the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947, will help the two countries put decades of animosity behind them. The Pakistanis also hope that Gandhi will be more sympathetic to the West, particularly the United States, than his mother was.

Zia said he appealed to the new Indian prime minister to resolve the two countries' problems through direct personal contact and had invited him to visit Pakistan.

An Indian diplomat here said, however, that it would take more than expressions of good will to improve relations between the two countries. He said India wanted Pakistan to take solid steps to remove "irritants" in the relationship.

He said these included Pakistan's failure to try or extradite to India 14 Sikhs held here after they hijacked to Pakistan two domestic

Indian flights, as well as alleged Pakistani arms smuggling to Sikhs in the Punjab and training of Sikh "terrorists" in Pakistan. Pakistani officials have denied any involvement in the alleged arms smuggling and training.

Meets With Rajiv Gandhi

*BK041620 Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 1500 GMT
4 Nov 84*

[Excerpts] President General Mohammad Ziaul Haq had separate meetings with Indian President Giani Zail Singh and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in New Delhi today. The president stayed with them for some time and exchanged views on matters of mutual interest.

The president met with other leaders in the Indian capital today. UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar met with the president this afternoon and held talks with him on Afghanistan and other issues. They also reviewed the Iran-Iraq war and expressed the hope that this regrettable war would soon end. They also expressed concern at the drought in Ethiopia.

Later, in an interview, the UN secretary general said that he held useful talks with the Pakistan president and he was grateful to him for this. He expressed the hope that the next round of indirect talks on Afghanistan in Geneva would be successful and positive.

The president also exchanged views with Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone. Both leaders reviewed prospects for a settlement of the Afghanistan issue through negotiations. They expressed satisfaction at the promotion of bilateral relations. The Japanese prime minister referred to his Pakistan visit and thanked the president for hospitality extended to him.

The president also met with Nepalese Prime Minister Mr Loken-dra Bahadur Chand.

President General Mohammad Ziaul Haq, while talking to newsmen in New Delhi today, said that his country aspires to new and effective measures regarding its relations with India as a result of the leadership of the latter's young prime minister, Rajiv Gandhi. He said he had come to Delhi not only to reaffirm the desire to normalize relations, but also to improve them further.

It is in the interest of both countries that their relations should be friendly to the maximum extent. The president said relations between the two countries could not improve through a dramatic measure by one side, but only through the settlement of issues through dialogue.

The president said that India has close relations with the Soviet Union and is also a leader of the Nonaligned Movement, which is why the new Indian prime minister can play an important role in connection with the settlement of the Afghan issue.

Returns Home, Comments

*BK050608 Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 0200 GMT
5 Nov 84*

[Text] President General Mohammad Ziaul Haq has said that his talks with the new Indian prime minister, Rajiv Gandhi, have been very satisfactory, positive, and useful, and he is awaiting much better, more affirmative, and more fruitful relations between the two countries in the future. He stated this while addressing a news conference at the airport on his return last

night to Islamabad from New Delhi after attending the funeral of Mrs Indira Gandhi.

The president said that Rajiv Gandhi has assured him that India will spare no effort to establish better relations with Pakistan. He said that the Indian prime minister has categorically stated that good relations between Pakistan and India are in the interests of the two countries and they will help in achieving progress and prosperity for the peoples of two countries. The president said that he had gone to India with an abundant spirit of cordiality and had brought back similar feelings.

In reply to a question, he said that he hopes that talks between Pakistan and India will be resumed soon, paving the way for a better understanding between the two countries. He said that India is currently passing through a delicate period and hopes that it will be capable of containing its internal problems soon. He expressed the hope that India will be in a position to resume talks with Pakistan after tackling its internal difficulties. The president expressed the hope that the Indian prime minister will adopt an effective, concrete posture in resolving the issues between the two countries. In fact, it may be termed a new attitude.

In reply to a question, he said that he believes that the doors for dialogue should be kept open, because issues become more serious if the doors for negotiations remain closed. He said that it has always been Pakistan's endeavor, and it will remain so in future, to maintain good-neighborly relations with India based on dignity and respect. The friendship between the two countries is not only useful for them, but it will also foster stability in the region. He said that he has invited Rajiv Gandhi to visit Pakistan because he thinks that direct, personal contact is always useful for removing misunderstanding. He expressed the hope that the new Indian prime minister will reciprocate with similar feelings.

General Mohammad Ziaul Haq said that the Pakistanis are respectable and responsible people who desire peace and tranquility in the region. In fact, India can play an important role in settling the Afghanistan issue by assisting Pakistan in finding a peaceful political resolution of the issue. In reply to a question, the president said that the Indian leaders, including the Indian president, and the prime minister, Rajiv Gandhi, as well as Indian journalists, have expressed very positive reactions and that his talks in India will have very constructive results.

In reply to a question on U.S. arms supplies to Pakistan and another question on the Indian prime minister's talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz in New Delhi, the president said that during his stay in New Delhi, he did not discuss these issues either with the Indian prime minister or with Shultz. However, he has made very clear Pakistan's stand that the arms being purchased by Pakistan are for her own security and that her nuclear program is solely for peaceful purposes to meet her energy needs.

In reply to another question on Pakistan's alleged interference in the Indian state of Punjab, the president said that it is not for Pakistan to give assurances in this regard, because the Pakistani Government is a responsible one that has some principles. A realistic analysis — direct or indirect — of these claims, coun-

terclaims, and allegations will reveal that Pakistan is neither responsible for India's internal affairs nor is it interfering in them.

The president said that during his brief stay in New Delhi, he had the chance to meet a number of world leaders and to exchange views with them on Afghanistan and international issues of mutual interest and bilateral relations. They included the prime ministers of the United Kingdom, Japan, and Nepal; the U.S. secretary of state; the presidents of Sri Lanka and Tanzania; the crown prince of Jordan; and the UN secretary general. The president also met with the Iranian foreign minister, who delivered to him a message from the Iranian president.

Prior to his departure from New Delhi, President Mohammad Ziaul Haq had a brief meeting with Rajiv Gandhi. All India Radio reported that they exchanged views on bilateral relations and South Asian regional cooperation. Earlier, the delegations of two countries had met.

Afghanistan: Zia for Delhi's mediation

NEW DELHI, Nov. 4.—The Pakistan President, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, today reportedly told a group of journalists here that Pakistan wanted India to take the initiative in seeking a political solution to the Afghanistan problem, reports PTI.

He said India should take the step not only as the leading country in the region, but also as a nation in the forefront of the Non-Aligned Movement. He said there could be no military solution to the problem. There had to be a political solution.

Gen. Zia said three rounds of indirect talks between Pakistan and Afghanistan had taken place at Geneva. The fourth round was

scheduled for February.

Our Special Representative in New Delhi adds: Gen. Zia said here tonight he looked forward to a more dynamic approach by India to normalization of bilateral relations.

Acknowledging the rôle which Mrs Gandhi played in sub-continental matters, Gen. Zia, who had had a brief meeting with Mr Rajiv Gandhi, said the "new youthful leader of India" could give a fresh impetus to the progress in bilateral relations initiated by his mother. (According to PTI, the two leaders met at Mr Rajiv Gandhi's residence this evening prior to Gen. Zia's departure for Islamabad. They

talked for about 15 minutes without aides. At the initial stage, however, they had their aides with them.)

Denying reports about Pakistani nuclear ambitions, Gen. Zia said his country was interested in developing nuclear energy and had the resources and the talent for it.

But there was no question of Pakistan making a nuclear bomb. He said he did not know why the Pakistani efforts to build nuclear know-how was being projected as the making of an Islamic bomb. (He said India had exploded a nuclear device, like the USSR and

(Continued on page 7 col. 1)

Hijackers to be tried 'soon'

(Continued from page 1 col. 4)

the USA. But, nobody described the Indian device as the "Hindu bomb", the Soviet one as the "Communist bomb" and the one the USA detonated as the "Christian bomb". Assuming Pakistan had a nuclear bomb, why should it be called Islamic, he asked, says PTI.)

Gen. Zia said he as a soldier did not believe his country could take on India. Pakistan was not in a position to attack India; nor did it have the inclination to do so.

Asked why his country had not tried the Indian hijackers, he said it would be done not "too far from now". He said the Pakistani laws were more stringent than the ones India followed and the punishment for hijacking was death.

He wanted to spare India the embarrassment of having 500 lawyers from various countries wishing to defend the hijackers.



TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1984.

Realism in Indo-Pakistan relations

THE MESSAGE BROUGHT by Gen. Zia-ul-Haq on the tragic occasion of visiting India to attend Mrs. Gandhi's funeral is not one that will be received with much confidence or credibility here. The Pakistani military ruler has once again called for a "no-war" pact, a balanced reduction of forces, mutual inspection of nuclear energy installations and so on. He has also suggested that the emergence of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi as the new Prime Minister might be treated as an opportunity to explore fresh ground for resuming the process of normalisation, or to try out "a fresh approach to create a friction-free relationship" between India and Pakistan. Gen. Zia must not be left in any doubt about the nature of the national policy towards Pakistan, which cannot be reduced to individual preferences or styles or ways of looking at the challenge. The overall track record of Indo-Pakistan relations shows that crises, tensions and wars have invariably been brought on by aggressive actions by Pakistani military regimes armed to the teeth by the United States and dependent on that country for bailing them out. Gen. Zia has, over the past three or four years, embarked on a military build-up that has inducted—thanks to the Reagan administration's ultra-conservative tilt in the name of countering the Soviet presence in Afghanistan—a qualitatively new order of weaponry, notably the F-16s, into the sub-continent. Given this development which has had the effect of imposing a considerable financial burden on India (it has been forced to respond with equal alacrity to the situation) Gen. Zia's words will not be taken seriously in the absence of a clear indication that the deeds are going to be qualitatively different. Additionally, bilateral relations will have to cope with complications introduced by the suspicion that the Pakistani regime has been trying to take advantage of the Indian Government's problems in Punjab and Kashmir. The point is that so long

as there is this uneasy bilateral situation in which the nation must, while making every constructive effort towards normalisation, be prepared for any eventuality, a "no-war pact" would be misleading. If, however, the overall situation improved and there were some kind of meeting of minds, there would be no need for such formal undertakings which might only confirm a state of mutual suspicion, rather than remove it.

The task of national policy towards Pakistan at this delicate juncture is as clear as it was in Mrs. Gandhi's time. It must continue to take carefully thought out and constructive initiatives to normalise and improve bilateral relations all round, including trade, people-to-people exchanges and cultural contacts. But this process cannot go very far unless the political framework of the bilateral relationship is improved in a basic qualitative sense. This depends essentially on whether Pakistan is prepared, in deeds as distinct from fine words, to provide evidence that it is not embarked on a military course that puts pressure on India's national security interests and that it is not interested in exploiting India's difficulties and problems. Indo-Pakistan relations and difficulties are best handled by the peoples and governments of the two countries themselves in a realistic and sober manner without having to run to one or the other superpower from time to time for support.

A welcome thaw

PRESIDENT Zia's very presence at Mrs Gandhi's funeral and his subsequent meeting with Mr Rajiv Gandhi has fortunately helped defuse rising tensions between India and Pakistan that had become a major cause for concern barely a week ago. Since July, when India broke the on-going dialogue and exchanges with Pakistan on charges of interference and even indirect complicity in the Punjab troubles, relations had steadily deteriorated. Continuing US supplies of military hardware to Pakistan and that country's nuclear programme had resulted in renewed anxieties, and a flurry of statements regarding gathering war clouds had begun to rouse apprehension that a conflict could not be ruled out whether by accident or design.

The Pakistan President has sought to allay these fears by reiterating his sincere desire for peace and co-operative relations with India. He has expressed the hope that the accession of a youthful Indian leader augurs well for a fresh approach. He was at pains to deny allegations of interference in Punjab in any manner or of encouraging secessionist elements or anything calculated to destabilise India. He also disavowed any ambition to develop nuclear weapons capability let alone an "Islamic bomb" and saw in this very nomenclature a malicious, propagandist bias against a purely peaceful and research programme. More positively, he called for an early resumption of the dialogue between the two countries and of the work of the Joint Commission, one aspect of which would be promoting better information exchange. He also said that the first batch of Indian hijackers held in Pakistan would be brought to trial "fairly soon" and that formalities in this regard were in the process of being completed. He pooh-poohed alarmist inferences from routine military exercises that both sides conduct or certain border incidents, including one in the Siachen Glacier region of the High Karakorum where the J and K Line of Actual Control is not demarcated. Here too, one flag meeting had been held and another is proposed. The message is clear. Pakistan, President Zia says, is not out to exploit India's current difficulties but would rather get back to the table. This is a sentiment that Mr Rajiv Gandhi should fully reciprocate.

Zia's empty words

In Indian tradition death stills all controversies and one would like to forget, if this were possible, the part Gen Zia-Ul-Haq's Pakistan has played in promoting terrorism and secessionism in Punjab. The conspirators who organized the treacherous assassination of Indira Gandhi, we have no doubt, have their patrons and cohorts abroad. Much as one would like not to rake up this on the morrow of General Zia's departure from Delhi — he came to represent Pakistan at the late Prime Minister's funeral — how can one forget that all conspiracies against India, whoever might be their original authors, converge in Pakistan? Whether or not their final aims accord with those of General Zia's government, promoters of all inimical moves against this country, open or clandestine, have in Pakistan a ready base. Over the years Pakistan has sedulously befriended and helped Akali extremists in India and also those secessionists who operate from Britain and the USA. Be they hijackers of Indian aircraft, commandos requiring training and weapons or arms smugglers pressed into service by foreign agencies engaged in a silent war against this country — all these have found in Pakistan money, training, sympathetic officials and logistical backing. One would not therefore be astonished if some strands of the conspiracy which was hatched to take Indira Gandhi's life passed through Pakistan, though these may not have terminated there.

Probably this is a hypothesis which cannot be proved in our court of law under the provisions of the Evidence Act. But the object is not to seek a court verdict on Pakistan's culpability in the shaping of the conspiracy that eventually took Indira Gandhi's life but to understand the thrust of General Zia's near-term aims against India. Seeing the happenings in this light and bearing in mind the military preparations Pakistan is engaged in, one wishes one could take seriously General Zia's anodyne statements in Delhi. It is of course good to know that Pakistan wants to "coexist" with India. But, surely, the spirit of coexistence is not fostered by the enormity of Pakistan's current military preparations. India can ignore at her dire peril the military intent that has animated Pakistan's nuclear programme.

Pakistan's President spoke of the nation's sovereign right to acquire weapons for its defence. But this only states an abstract principle. In real life, he must know as a military person, no country, unless it is bent on provoking conflict, can ignore the repercussions its rearmament programme produces in the adjoining countries and in the region. Even the great powers cannot pursue an altogether unrestrained weapons programme. Their potential for military capabilities is moderated by the fear that an unregulated escalation will end in a disaster. But General Zia wants military superiority which will outclass all his neighbours, India included. His ambitions have obliged India to spend on new weapons a great deal more than she can spare from the resources this country should be spending on economic development. The General said that for normalisation in India-Pakistan relations he pins his hope on "the dynamic and youthful" new Prime Minister. These are empty words with an imputation that the lack of "dynamism" in the late Prime Minister's policy had blocked improvement in the bilateral relationship. The General must know that if Pakistan continues its present policy no Prime Minister of India, least of all Mr Rajiv Gandhi, will sacrifice the country's security interests to pursue the mirage of normalisation.

ON THE WRONG FOOT

PAKISTAN'S clarification that it does not want anything to happen at this sensitive juncture that might set back efforts to improve relations with India is to be welcomed, if only because genuine misgivings have arisen following the wide media publicity given to anti-India speeches and demonstrations at Nankana Sahib. While a statement by the Pakistani embassy in New Delhi points out that visas were issued only to those pilgrims who had been cleared by the Indian Government, Islamabad cannot pretend to have been entirely unaware of the implications of simultaneously allowing a large number of Sikhs living in the West also to converge on Nankana Sahib. It is apparent that non-resident proponents of "Khalistan" have used this opportunity again to indulge in propaganda against India, arouse communal passions and try to enlist support for the secessionist cause. General Zia-ul-Haq's reported exhortation to a Sikh delegation to refrain from activities that might create misunderstanding between the two countries has received appropriate publicity, but it needs to be pointed out that this is not the first time that he has formally disowned involvement with Sikh extremism. However, this is not the first time either that suspicions have been voiced that good neighbourly professions are intended primarily for the record.

More than pious statements are needed to clear the air of deep-rooted misgivings on both sides. There was consternation in India about the manner in which the Pakistani media, particularly Lahore television, tried to suggest that Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale had escaped the military action at the Golden Temple. It also gave wide coverage to allegations of army high-handedness in Punjab, and prominently broadcast inflammatory statements by "Khalistan" activists abroad. Unlike India, Pakistan cannot plead that it has little control over its Press, since whatever is broadcast or printed there

usually reflects official policy. Therefore, the implied suggestion that the publicity given recently to persons like Mr Ganga Singh Dhillon, the expatriate terrorist, was the work of an "irresponsible" Press, sound more than a little specious. It is possible that Pakistan tried to "discourage" such expatriates, as its embassy's statement claims, but the large gathering of British, U.S., Canadian and West German Sikhs indicates that such efforts were at best half-hearted.

What is most unfortunate is that efforts to improve Indo-Pakistani relations under the new circumstances that now obtain seem to have started off on the wrong foot. Hopes were aroused by President Zia's recent meeting with Mr Rajiv Gandhi, and many in the sub-continent shared the Pakistani leader's expressed belief that the two countries could turn a new leaf in their relations because Mr Gandhi, as a product of the post-partition generation, would not be influenced by memories of the past. The General's suggestion that India play a more active role in solving the Afghan problem also seemed encouraging. Given these overtures, it may be suggested that New Delhi too might need to take a hard look at its policies. Not much purpose is served by recurrent suggestions of Pakistani encouragement of Sikh terrorists without providing concrete proof. If the Government has evidence of training camps in Pakistan it should be made public and the matter taken up with Islamabad. At the same time, India should ponder whether it was really necessary to allow over 1,500 pilgrims to go to Pakistan at this time. Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs have shrines on both sides of the border and it is understandable that they should want to visit them. But if they could do without regular visits for so many years after partition it is pertinent to ask whether religious sensibilities would have been outraged by another temporary restriction.

Some U.S. Officials Fear India-Pakistan Conflict

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 31 — Reagan Administration officials expressed concern today that the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi could lead to extended violence in coming days in India, which is already tense. Some officials suggested that this could eventually provoke a clash between India and Pakistan.

"The key question," one senior expert on Indian affairs said, "is what happens in the streets, how much violence explodes between the Hindus and the Sikhs." Reports from New Delhi today said anti-Sikh violence erupted in at least eight Indian cities, including New Delhi.

"If it gets out of hand, there will always be the temptation by those in authority to blame Pakistan for egging on the Sikhs," he said, alluding to the actions by extremist Sikhs that preceded a crackdown by the Indian Army last June. "We know there are quite a few Indians who would like another crack at the Paks."

Earlier in the year, Secretary of State George P. Shultz conveyed messages to both Pakistan and India urging them to ease tensions between them that had arisen at the same time as Mrs. Gandhi ordered a crackdown on Sikh extremists in the Punjab.

A Serious Concern to U.S.

The possibility of a conflict between India and Pakistan was a matter of serious concern because the United States is a long-standing arms supplier to Pakistan, and also because of the current tensions on Pakistan's border with Afghanistan.

Increasing numbers of Soviet-built planes have flown over Pakistan's border in recent months, leading Pakistan to request advanced air defense weapons including airborne reconnaissance planes. Pakistan already has received about half of the 40 F-16's it has ordered from the United States.

At the moment, the officials said, there were no signs of troop buildups along the Pakistan-India border.

Privately, officials were unsure whether Mrs. Gandhi's son, Rajiv, a former airline pilot, would have the strength to lead India away from chaos and to new unity.

Future of Congress Party

Mr. Gandhi was named today to succeed his mother as India's Prime Minister. Some American Government experts said that this might mean the end of the predominance of the Congress party in Indian national politics.

"The Congress-I party has a very weak political base," one specialist said, "because Mrs. Gandhi so dominated the party. She did not put strong people into leadership positions. And Rajiv has no personal political base of his own: He is liable to face real problems."

Other officials, however, said that with new parliamentary elections due to be held before next Jan. 20, there might be a sympathy vote for Rajiv Gandhi that for the short run could overcome doubts about his ability.

American officials have not known Rajiv well, the specialists said. He is regarded, one official said, as "Mr. Clean" in India, "but some people regard that as a liability, saying he lacks the ruthlessness to survive politically."

Reagan Told at 3 A.M.

The assassination shocked Washington. President Reagan was awakened at 12:20 A.M., according to a White House spokesman, to be told that Mrs. Gandhi had been critically wounded, and again at 3 A.M. when Robert C. McFarlane, the White House national security adviser, told him that Mrs. Gandhi was dead.

Later in the morning Mr. Reagan, Mr. Shultz and Mr. McFarlane went to the Indian Embassy to sign a book of condolences. Mr. Shultz was named by Mr. Reagan to head the American delegation to Mrs. Gandhi's funeral on Saturday.

Mr. Reagan, in a statement issued by the White House, said, "I want to express my shock, revulsion, and grief over the brutal assassination."

Although the United States had often been at odds with Mrs. Gandhi, whose policies it felt were usually more friendly to the Soviet Union than to the United States, in the last three years Washington had come to the conclusion that Mrs. Gandhi was making an effort to be more balanced in her relations with the superpowers.

Her visit to Washington in July 1982 was regarded as successful in improving relations. But tensions persisted because of India's continuing opposition to American military aid to Pakistan.

Statement by Reagan

Mr. Reagan's statement said that "as Prime Minister of the world's largest democracy and chairman of the nonaligned movement, Mrs. Gandhi was a source of global leadership."

He said he and Mrs. Gandhi had had "personal correspondence recently regarding the scourge of terrorism."

"We agreed upon the necessity for freedom-loving states to strengthen our cooperation to stamp out this menace to humanity," he said. "Her senseless murder serves as a vivid reminder of the terrorist threat we all confront."

Walter F. Mondale, the Democratic candidate, in Chicago on a campaign trip, said that Mrs. Gandhi was "a great leader of a great democracy," and added, "Her death at the hands of assassins is a blow to the cause of democracy throughout the world."

Assassination in Delhi

MRS. Indira Gandhi's assassination at the hands of two of her Sikh body guards has brutally cut short the illustrious career of one of India's most eminent politicians and the Third World's outstanding statesperson. Mrs. Gandhi's sad and sudden demise marks the end of an era in India's politics. The Nehru family which left an indelible mark on the region's politics for over half a century played a leading role in guiding India's destiny. As a woman and as a scion of the Nehru family, Mrs. Gandhi inherited the mantle of leadership from her late father, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and went on to become the helms woman of the world's most populous democracy.

Any charismatic political figure almost always evokes feelings of love and hate. Those who loved her and who helped her to win the office of the Prime Minister of India through three fair and free elections viewed her as a tenacious fighter and a leader of great courage. Her detractors saw an authoritarian streak in her which was often exemplified by a ruthless determination in achieving her objectives. Although she was often accused by her opponents of employing undemocratic practices as Prime Minister of India, it went to the credit of Mrs. Gandhi that she made a graceful exit from this position of power when she lost the elections in 1977 and in another tribute to her resilience and tenacity she staged a political come-back through the electoral process in 1980.

People in Pakistan also viewed the leader of our neighbouring country with mixed feelings. They remembered her role during the 1971 crisis of Pakistan when she midwifed the caesarian birth of Bangladesh. And then there was her role during 1972 Simla agreement where she came across as a stateswoman who desired an equitable and peaceful relationship with Pakistan. We hope that her successors will inherit this legacy of peace and that India as the largest country in South Asia and as head of the Non-Aligned Movement will take the initiative in forging harmonious relations among all states of South Asia. The inner and inextinguishable strength of democracy, absent in so many Third World countries, may help India recover her poise and bearing sooner than most expect. While this fact has ensured a smooth succession to Mrs. Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi will no doubt find it difficult to fill the void which has been created by the departure of a personality of her stature.

Pakistan-India relations

PRESIDENT Zia's somewhat optimistic assessment of the new Indian leadership's perceptions should augur well for bilateral relations between the two countries. Pakistan, which mourned the late Indian Prime Minister officially for three days, was represented at her funeral ceremony at New Delhi by a high powered delegation led by the President who subsequently had a meeting with President Zail Singh and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. In his meeting with the media, the President hoped that his "highly satisfactory, positive and encouraging talks" with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi would be a step-forward for Pakistan-India relations. He also felt a "positive response" to our desire for improved relations. While the sudden violent death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi is bound to have far-reaching implications for India and the region as a whole, there is one significant aspect in her succession that the leadership of India is now in the hands of one who belongs to the post-partition generation. There is a view which we share with the President that the youthful Rajiv Gandhi would be able to bring a "fresh and dynamic approach to India-Pakistan problems". Regrettably, the first indicators are not a pointer in this direction.

In his maiden meeting with the American Secretary of State in New Delhi, Rajiv Gandhi is reported to have expressed to him India's concern on two counts vis-a-vis Pakistan, namely, that India has certain apprehensions regarding Pakistan's nuclear programme and secondly, New Delhi is fearful of Pakistan's refurbishing of its old and outmoded military equipment from the United States. These fears are not new and India is known to have expressed its opinion on this count several times. We have no doubt that such fears are totally unfounded given the gross inequity between the size of the Indian military machine and that of Pakistan. Whatever Pakistan may be acquiring is purely for defensive purposes and in regard to our nuclear programme, Islamabad, like New Delhi, has the right to pursue options that it deems necessary for the national interest. Hopefully, President Zia's offer to India, which has now been reiterated by him, for mutual inspection of each other's nuclear facilities with a view to dispelling suspicion of our nuclear programme, should be received with sympathy by the new Indian leadership.

In a country and culture where youth has an inherent disadvantage vis-a-vis the older generation in terms of social status and recognition of ability we feel it is a positive sign that the world's largest democracy is now being led by the youngest Prime Minister that South-Asia has ever had. We hope that Rajiv Gandhi will not carry some of the bitter and emotional legacies of the 1947 "parting of the ways". Hopefully he will endeavour to see India's relationship with not only Pakistan but also with other smaller neighbours in South-Asia as ties between neighbours who desire mutual respect and non-interference in each others internal affairs. He will also have to accept the reality that all nations in the region wish to carve out their destiny independently of external control. If this fundamental realisation is grasped by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, it will go a long way in clearing the air for a more peaceful and co-operative South-Asia rather than a region of suspicion and hostility.

DAWN on Indira Gandhi's Death; India's Future
GF051354 Karachi DAWN in English 1 Nov 84 p 7

[Editorial: "Mrs Indira Gandhi"]

[Text] Mrs Indira Gandhi is dead and, as she did when living, she has shaken India by her violent death. The assassination of Nehru's daughter will have more far-reaching implications for Indian politics, society and national unity than was the case when her father had died exactly two decades ago. Not that she ranked higher than him as a national leader, statesman and politician. But during the period in which Indira Gandhi led her country, India has experienced much greater stress as a result of the ascendancy of regional forces, economic strains and pressures on political institutions. Hence, to cope with the trauma of the assassination and effect a smooth succession is bound to pose a formidable challenge. How the new leadership addresses itself to this task will broadly indicate the political legacy Indira Gandhi has bequeathed to India. Her era is too close in point of time and she was too controversial a figure to allow a dispassionate assessment. The moves she made won her as many ardent admirers as bitter critics, for there was little ambivalence about Mrs Gandhi's political style. She provided the country decisive leadership at a time when it needed it and this was her greatest asset as a leader of a problem-ridden country of great ethnic, regional and cultural diversity. This quality, when combined with her political acumen, uncanny judgment, shrewd assessment of her opponents' strengths and weaknesses and skillful manipulation of popular emotions gave her a charismatic dimension to her leadership which stood her in good stead for a large part of her political career.

There is no doubt that no other personality except the late Jayaprakash Narayan for a period in the mid-seventies dominated the Indian politics so completely in the last eighteen years. Even when out of power in 1977-79, Indira continued to be a major factor in the process of alignment and re-alignment of forces which marked the Indian political scene in that period. It was primarily the "Indira wave" which helped the Congress to win by landslide votes national and state elections. Again, it was a temporary waning of that "wave" that was primarily responsible for her party's defeat in 1977. But it did not take more than three years for her to return to power. What emerged clearly during her political career was that she was armed with the determination to change the most difficult of situations to her advantage. But in the process she occasionally chose to bypass constitutional procedures and democratic principles. The streak of authoritarianism in her at which critics and her political opponents raised accusing fingers often led her to take still harsher measures to sustain her unchallenged authority. In 1969 she split the Congress to outmanoeuvre her rivals. In 1975 she imposed the much decried Emergency and in recent months she was accused of having manipulated the changes in government in Srinagar and Andhra. But it had been clear for some time that she was overplaying her cards, especially when she showed no compunction about coming down with a heavy hand on the dissidents. Her decision to storm the Golden Temple, for instance, was a controversial one and may well turn out to be a watershed in Indian politics. The reaction it has drawn from the militant section of the Sikhs has added to the strife and turmoil of the contemporary Indian scene. In any case, her handling of the Punjab situation is being widely questioned in India.

The imprint Mrs Gandhi has made on India's foreign policy is no less significant though equally controversial. The nonalignment she stood for was designed to keep the country clear of big power rivalries and alliances. But her leaning towards Moscow was never in doubt and New Delhi has derived considerable economic and military benefits from its close ties with the USSR. Yet, it was Mrs Gandhi's consummate skill in diplomacy that India's voice continued to carry weight in Washington, Whitehall and the European capitals. True, she was not required to fashion a non-aligned policy from scratch but build on the foundations her father had laid. But it goes to her credit that she sustained India's position in the international community in spite of the numerous ups and downs in world politics and the weaknesses which emerged in India's own national structure. Mrs Gandhi won for her country a leading position in the Third World as is evident from the role it has been playing in the context of the North-South dialogue, in NAM's [Nonaligned Movement] affairs and at the United Nations. In one area, however, Mrs Gandhi failed to lift India's foreign policy above the pulls and pressures born of historical prejudices and misgivings. India's relations with its South Asian neighbours are exactly as they should or could have been. The Bangladesh war in 1971, the periods of crisis in Indo-Pakistan relations in the seventies and the recent stresses and strains in their ties are, in the eyes of impartial observers, a quaint reflection on Mrs Gandhi's conduct of policy in the region. Although she responded to *frankly* overtures from Islamabad, the progress towards normalisation has not been as might have been expected. We hope the new leadership in New Delhi will deem it in the interest of peace and security in South Asia to move towards a more friendly equation with Pakistan and other neighbours.

How India without Indira will cope with the situation created by her assassination remains to be seen. Her removal from the scene at a time when Indian politics is beset with uncertainty on the eve of elections could prove daunting for new wielders of power in New Delhi. Moreover, if political violence is intensified, it could cast its long shadow beyond India's domestic politics. The challenge the country's new leadership faces in the changed circumstances is tremendous and it is to be hoped that it will rise to the occasion in the challenging task of steering the country out of its present crisis.

Communal violence in India

VIOLENT Hindu-Sikh showdown in the wake of tragic assassination of Indira Gandhi was not entirely unexpected. But the scale of rioting and its persistence even five days after the stunning incident of last Wednesday has rightly evoked world-wide shock and concern. The death toll in this anti-Sikh explosion has already crossed over 1000 mark and the frenzy is unfortunately spreading to still larger areas of northern and central India. The capital city was not free from violent incidents even on the solemn day of the cremation of the assassinated Indian leader. Indeed some old-timers are of the view that the current communal riots are the worst India has witnessed since the partition of the subcontinent 37 years ago.

In the immediate context, the challenge for the new leadership in India is to maintain peace and harmony. Unless the grave eruption of communal bitterness and hatred is suppressed promptly and sternly, it threatens to become a much bigger tragedy for the country than the foul murder of its respected Prime Minister. In fact some leading opposition politicians have already warned that "India as a nation might sink into oblivion" unless Rajiv moves to crush the escalating violence decisively. Obviously police alone is unequal to this grim task and army's deployment on a sizable scale is the pressing compulsion, though not always welcome by politicians. But the new Prime Minister should not take the complaint voiced in some newspapers that he was not acting firmly enough to face the current crisis of unprecedented intensity and dimensions.

In the long-range perspective, the test that Rajiv faces is many-fronted. In fact the present situation has put India's commitment to democratic traditions and their professed ideal of secularism to its severest test so far. How it resolves and how briskly will be of concern not only to Sikhs but to a host of other religious and ethnic minorities not excluding the large body of Indian Muslims. Any failure to provide

safety of life and property to the small though very significant Sikh minority will generate a new and heightened sense of insecurity for other religions and other groups inhabiting this land of great length and breadth with bitter memories of communal disharmony in the past. Above all, it would be a serious setback for many significant efforts mounted by its leaders over the past three decades to reinforce its national cohesion.

Obviously what happens in India is of immediate concern to Pakistan and its other neighbours in the South Asian sub-continent. They will be watching with anxiety and with keen interest how she grapples with the complex problem of forging unity in an environment of religious and ethnic diversity. India is apparently still in its formative dangerous decades building up a stable multi-national state based on ethnic and communal harmony. Its success or failure in this task can have far-reaching consequences for political stability in the region as a whole.

DAWN Notes Expectations for Rajiv Gandhi
GF061934 Karachi DAWN in English 4 Nov 84 p 7

[Editorial: "India's Hour of Trial"]

[Text] The violence which has gripped India since Wednesday in the wake of Mrs Indira Gandhi's assassination by two Sikh members of her security staff could have far-reaching implications for the country's stability, unity and political system. It is now clear that the magnitude of the crisis in India is quite unprecedented. It will be a stupendous job to quell this wide upsurge of violence which has already claimed over 500 lives in three days. Even more challenging will be the task of defusing the seeds of communal antagonism which the present orgy of violence has served to make more potent. The present situation points not only to the slain leader's popular standing which has caused a grief-stricken people to react as strongly as they have. What has also emerged so clearly is that communal passions cannot be ignored as a major factor in India's public life — at least, not when a sensitive chord has been touched. Until now communal riots have generally been localised. Even the incidents involving the Sikhs and Hindus which marked the Punjab scene before and after the storming of the Golden Temple were more or less confined to that state alone. The frenzy which has spread across the length and breadth of the country since last week could destabilise it very dangerously at a time when the need for calm and harmony is paramount — for the new leadership to be able to settle in office.

The new Prime Minister has displayed unusual maturity in the difficult situation he faces, though it must be noted that his appeal for peace and sanity has so far failed to have the desired effect. What is important is that in the coming weeks the Congress-I mettle and its capacity for circumspection would be tested hard for it not to feel tempted to make political capital out of the emotions its leader's tragic death has stirred, because this simply would not help the cause of communal harmony or the interest of stability. As it is, the process of transition of power poses serious problems which could in the long run have a strong democracy. Mr Rajiv Gandhi's initial nomination as the prime minister and his subsequent confirmation by the Congress-I parliamentary party in that office has provided him the necessary constitutional sanction so vital for a democratic leader. But what

course his government adopts on many issues of immediate and far-reaching importance will depend on many factors. Of foremost relevance among these are the new prime minister's lack of experience of public life and administration, the challenge he faces from his opponents, some of whom have already questioned his elevation to the highest executive post and the constitutional need to hold parliamentary elections by the end of this year when the term of the present Lok Sabha expires. There has been some speculation about the election being postponed. How Mr Gandhi handles the situation created by his mother's sudden removal from the scene — the breakdown of law and order in the country and the need for providing a new focus of authority capable of inspiring national confidence — will be crucial for India's future. If he succeeds in putting down the communal frenzy which can tear India apart and also manages to hold his party together, Mr Rajiv Gandhi's contribution to stability and continuity will be considerable in the present critical hour. If this happens, the new prime minister will have given himself the best possible chance of leading his country out of the present crisis.

Editorial on New Indian Prime Minister*GF070526 Lahore NAWA-E WAQT in Urdu 2 Nov 84 p 3*

[Editorial: "Rajiv Gandhi — Will He Take After His Mother?"]

[Excerpts] Mrs Gandhi's assassination may have been very sudden and unexpected, but her son's assuming the premiership was not so unexpected.

By taking the oath of office as India's prime minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi has not only taken the seat of power handed down by his grandfather to his mother, but he has also inherited those problems that in his mother's time had overshadowed Indian affairs. Only when he has assumed full responsibility of governmental affairs will it be known what he has learned from his mother's grooming. He does not have direct and practical government experience, but there is something in the opiate of power which makes sages of fools, or perhaps they are led to believe that no one knows more than they do! In his first address after taking the oath of office, Mr Rajiv promised to carry on his mother's policy and declared that he will strive to fulfill his mother's dream of a united secular India, which will not brook differences of caste or creed. But this seems mere lip service.

Whatever Mrs Gandhi's dream, she was the last of those with any definite national stature. Even though she transformed a nation of starving naked people into a great military power, as far as sectarian or religious differences were concerned, they were fanned and spread with a rapidity hitherto unparalleled. Mrs Gandhi strove to gain preponderance over neighboring countries, especially Pakistan, but it was during her prolonged rule that provincialism and secessionism reared their heads and multiplied. The Muslim minority had always been victimized but even the Sikhs who had been the guards of the Hindus have had their religious susceptibilities so badly wounded that they became the instruments of her assassination.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi taking over as premier has been achieved fairly smoothly, probably due to the system, but attacks on the Sikhs continue all over India and may have farreaching repercussions in the long run.

With the removal of an experienced and professional politician such as Mrs Gandhi, India will at present be involved in internal issues but it is no secret that Mr Rajiv Gandhi is even more "kind" to Pakistan than his mother and has always been at the forefront, in fact a few steps ahead, of his mother in irresponsibly accusing Pakistan. Unstinted opposition of Pakistan was part of his grooming. Whether he has inherited any of her paranoia is debatable but in light of whatever Mr Rajiv has been saying in the past, it would be too optimistic to expect him to use better judgement or more realistic understanding. It would be a more realistic approach for Pakistanis not to be misled by any optimism regarding India's intentions or actions and to coolly analyze and observe the fluctuations in the neighboring country's events and circumstances. After setting their own house in order, they should strive to achieve internal national unity with all sincerity, because as far as opposition and animosity against Pakistan is concerned, even a ruler like Lal Bahadur Shastri, whose physical as well as political stature was that of a dwarf, did not refrain from it. Mr Rajiv Gandhi is the trained son of Mrs Gandhi. The latter has said about her father, Pandit Nehru, that the biggest political mistake of his life had been to accept the establishment of Pakistan!

SOVIET AND SOVIET BLOC PROPAGANDA EFFORTS

Soviets press to link CIA with Gandhi's murder

By Gary Thatcher

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow

The Soviet Union is stepping up efforts to tie the United States Central Intelligence Agency to the assassination of Indira Gandhi.

The campaign, started within hours of the Indian leader's death, appears to have escalated.

Western diplomats here say there is no mistaking that the timing of articles in the government-controlled press, and their placement in Soviet newspapers, is aimed at fanning suspicion of CIA involvement in Mrs. Gandhi's death.

The Soviet charges rely heavily on innuendo and implication, and they have drawn official protests here and in Washington. Nevertheless, they continue.

The emerging Soviet line, repeated in news reports, telegrams of condolence, and official statements on the assassination, is that Mrs. Gandhi fell victim to a "conspiracy of reactionary forces." In the Soviet political lexicon, that formulation clearly means the US.

But Moscow has stopped short of directly blaming Washington or the CIA for the assassination. A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, Vladimir Lomeiko, said India alone should fix the blame for the tragedy.

A series of reports here allege CIA links to Sikh extremists, note that Sikh extremists were responsible for Mrs. Gandhi's death, and then suggest that the CIA will stop at nothing, "up to political assassinations," in pursuit of its aims. Some examples:

- Tass, the official Soviet news agency, claims the CIA and the US State Department "have carried out a number of operations" aimed at "the encouragement of separatism in India."

- Pravda, the official Soviet Communist Party newspaper, ran a commentary entitled "Terrorism — the Politics of Washington" alongside Gandhi's obituary. Pravda also claimed the CIA had been involved in "recent bloody incidents" in Punjab state, stronghold of the Sikh separatist movement.

- Soviet television has run reports from India showing demonstrators carrying anti-American placards, along with commentary similarly linking the US with the assassination.

Radio Moscow went even further, suggesting that the slaying of Gandhi was part of a "chain of conspiracies" to eliminate leaders of third world and so-called nonaligned nations which refuse to buckle under to Washington's pressures.

The Soviet propaganda effort comes in the face of allegations in the Western press that the Soviet Union's own intelligence agency, the Committee for State Security (KGB), may have been involved in a plot to assassinate Pope John Paul II in 1981.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union continues to take stock of the political impact of Gandhi's death. In Washington, State Department officials said that Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai A. Tikhonov would likely be head of the Soviet delegation to Gandhi's funeral on Saturday.

A number of Western analysts here in Moscow presume that the Kremlin leadership is satisfied with the succession of Gandhi's son, Rajiv, to the prime minister's post.

A telegram of congratulations sent to Mr. Gandhi by the Soviet government called for "strengthening and deepening traditional relations of friendship and cooperation with India."

"You may rest assured," the message said, "of the Soviet Union's readiness to extend assistance to India in further consolidating its economy, in enhancing its international prestige."

Indira Gandhi was one of Moscow's best friends in the nonaligned movement, frequently infuriating Washington for "tilting" in favor of the Soviets. She initially condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, for example, but later held consultations with officials of the Soviet-backed Afghan government.

India has also been one of the Soviet Union's best customers for armaments, purchasing more than \$10 billion worth from 1954 through 1983.

In fact, Indian Defense Minister S. B. Chavan was here in Moscow, for what diplomats believe were negotiations on arms sales, when Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated. He quickly cancelled the rest of the trip and headed home for the funeral.

SOURCE FBIS (USSR), 1 November 1984, pp. D5-D7 PAGES 3

COMMENTARIES ON GANDHI'S ASSASSINATION

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Blames West

PM311710 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Nov 84 First Edition p 3

[S. Bulantsev article: "Indira Gandhi's Life Has Been Cut Short"]

[Excerpt] Grief fills the hearts of millions of Indians and India's friends all over the world today. The news agency teleprinters have spread the terrible news across the planet: Indira Gandhi has been assassinated. The assassins who stole their way into her home, disguised as bodyguards, were Sikhs....

Over the last few years, the Indian press has repeatedly reported conspiracies to assassinate Indira Gandhi and other of the country's leaders. Last April, for example, Indira Gandhi's trip to North Africa was limited to only two states instead of the four originally scheduled. What was the reason? Indian counterintelligence discovered that at least three terrorist groups were being trained and had been promised large sums of money to assassinate Indira Gandhi. Retired Brigadier General J. Singh was arrested at Delhi airport last July while attempting to smuggle weapons and ammunition into the country. He confessed that a group of Sikh extremists was conspiring to liquidate India's top leaders.

Indira Gandhi was well aware of the planned attempts on her life. This is what she declared at a mass meeting in Delhi: "Certain foreign powers are systematically weaving conspiracies against India's Government. The same forces that are implementing their disgusting plans in Latin America are training their weapons on India. If they discover that the execution of their schemes is being hindered, they will not hesitate to eliminate India's leaders from the scene."

At the moment, of course, it is too early to definitely say who stage managed the tragedy that occurred at the Indian prime minister's residence. Nevertheless, it is already known that the two assassins belong to one of the Sikh extremist groups seeking to tear the State of Punjab and its adjoining regions away from India. This established fact leads to the inevitable conclusion that Indira Gandhi has fallen victim to revenge for her resolute actions to liquidate the hornets' nest of Punjab separatists last summer. There is documentary proof that the special services of Pakistan and a number of Western countries are behind the Punjab separatists. It is therefore no accident that it was precisely in Pakistan and the West that a noisy anti-Indian campaign aimed at discrediting India's leadership and its legitimate actions to impose law and order in Punjab State was launched. Thus, Indira Gandhi's assassination is the bloody climax of the unbridled anti-Indian campaign waged by its enemies.

The Soviet people, together with the Indian people, feel profound grief at the premature death of India's great daughter and the Soviet Union's great friend. However, this sorrow is accompanied by a wave of anger against those who organized the base assassination. An old proverb says that the truth will out.

There can be no doubt that the terrorist center, to which the threads of the conspiracy that ended Indira Gandhi's life lead, will also be revealed.

CIA Seen "Inspiring" Killers

LD311506 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT Oct 84

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Sad news has come from India: Mrs Indira Gandhi, the prime minister and outstanding state and political figure, has been assassinated by terrorists. Now the details.

According to news agency dispatches, the assassins were Sikhs. They belonged to one of the extremist organizations in the State of Punjab, where a separatist movement has developed under the influence of reactionary forces. So far it's not known who concretely instructed them and put the guns in their hands, but it is known where the terrorists received their ideological inspiration. The address is also known: the suburbs of Washington, Langley, headquarters of the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States.

It's noteworthy that the current director of the CIA, William Casey, recently stated that in the coming year, the main target of his organization, which is directly subordinate to the National Security Council and the President of the United States, will be the developing countries, where Washington is bent on using every means to support what it calls its friends. But just who are these so-called friends? They are also known. They are the counterrevolutionaries ravaging Afghanistan; they are the Somoza bandits receiving instructions from Langley on how to neutralize political leaders in Nicaragua who are not approved of by the United States; they are the counterrevolutionary groups being armed in Angola; and there is much evidence that the separatist movement in India is also receiving outside help.

The tragic news from New Delhi brings to mind other crimes, such as the assassination of Africa's patriot Patrice Lumumba, and the Chilean President Dr Salvadore Allende; the neutralization, to use the CIA term, of the Ceylonese Prime Minister Solomon Bandaranaike; Congolese President Marian Ngouabi, the Panamanian leader Omar Torrijos. All these terrorist acts were intended to destabilize the situation in one or another foreign state, compromise the leadership not approved of in Washington, and clear the way for reactionaries to take power. Symptomatically, the attempt to assassinate Mrs Indira Gandhi, ending in tragedy, took place just before the national parliamentary elections in India.

The essence of the U.S. policy towards independent states, primarily the developing countries, can be defined briefly as state terrorism. This definition precisely reflects Washington's multifaceted subversive activities against governments and political forces it dislikes, whether they are in Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, or India. Such a policy poses a serious threat to the independence of nations and must be met with a decisive rebuff.

PTI Cited on 'Conspiracy'

LD311539 Moscow TASS in English 1516 GMT 31 Oct 84

[Text] New Delhi October 31 TASS -- As is reported by the PRESS TRUST OF INDIA referring to the opinion of intelligence circles, the assassination of Prime Minister of India Indira Gandhi has been the result of a thoroughly planned and elaborate conspiracy. The evidence of that is that those who made the assassination attempt were from the prime minister's guards and were on that day on the territory of her residence. As is clear from the events which took place, the conspirators managed to infiltrate their men into the prime minister's bodyguard, the news agency points out.

The version cited by the PRESS TRUST OF INDIA is confirmed by the fact that in the recent time Indian security forces arrested a number of terrorists, who were infiltrated into India's territory from abroad and who had special assignment to kill prominent state and political figures of the country. Just a few days ago the PRESS TRUST OF INDIA reported that three suspects were arrested on the territory of the state of Punjab and they confessed that they had an assignment to organise subversive and terroristic acts in order to destabilise the situation in that strategic area of India and also in the Indian capital. Weapons and ammunition of foreign make, large sums of currency were confiscated from them on their arrest.

Gandhi Mourned

BK311211 Moscow in Hindi to India 1130 GMT 31 Oct 84

[Text] Indian Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi died in New Delhi today. The assassination attempt by the enemies of India resulted in the death of a prominent stateswoman who had dedicated herself to the idea of the country's national unity. Following the politics of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawahar Lal Nehru, Mrs Indira Gandhi advocated the settlement of domestic problems on the basis of negotiations. She received enormous international prestige as a result of her work as chairperson of the Nonaligned Movement. Her speeches against nuclear armament and for the peaceful future of mankind symbolized the voice of the people of great India with whom the Soviet Union maintains traditional friendly relations.

Mrs Indira Gandhi's visits to the Soviet Union and the documents signed during her meetings with the Soviet leaders in India are of paramount importance for the development of Indo-Soviet relations.

At this sad moment for India, the Soviet people are feeling the same grief and shock as Indian citizens at the death of Mrs Indira Gandhi.

SOURCE FBIS (USSR), 2 November 1984, pp. D4-D5

PAGES 2

ADDITIONAL COMMENT ON GANDHI ASSASSINATION

Foreign Complicity Possible

LD012149 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 1 Nov 84

[Correspondent Dmitriy Biryukov report]

[Excerpts] Indira Gandhi was an outstanding statesman and politician. Under her leadership, India became one of Asia's major industrial powers and one of the top ten leading states in the world. The prime minister's services to the struggle for strengthening peace and international security were also enormous. The message of condolence from Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko was received warmly in India today. The evening papers commented on the message: Only a friend can utter such heartfelt words.

Investigation into the monstrous crime continues in Delhi. As the NATIONAL HERALD stresses, the Indian security service does not rule out the possibility that the threads of the conspiracy lead abroad. The press recalls the words of Chohan, one of the leaders of the separatists and head of the so-called Sikh state of Khalistan. In an interview with British television, he declared that Indira Gandhi and her family would be murdered by the end of the year.

Indian people angrily condemn the perpetrators of the monstrous crime and the external forces behind it.

Reactionary Conspiracy Seen

PY010148 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 31 Oct 84

[Commentary by Viktor Deruga from the "Latin American Events" feature]

[Text] Indira Gandhi's death today has left the progressive world bereft not only of India's prime minister, but also the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, to which many Latin American nations belong.

Throughout her life, Indira Gandhi struggled for the national independence of emerging nations, for their free development unencumbered by alien interference, and for a new international economic order.

At the beginning of this year, the Indian leader, together with the chiefs of state and government of Argentina, Mexico, Greece, Sweden, and Tanzania, participated in a call for measures aimed at dispelling the threat of nuclear war.

This is not the first time statesmen of her rank have died under dubious circumstances. All we have to do is recall the deaths of Salvador Allende, president of Chile; Jaime Roldos, president of Ecuador, and Omar Torrijos, the Panamanian leader, to speak of Latin America alone. They were all known for their efforts to end U.S. interference in their countries' affairs, and they all died violently, giving rise to changes that U.S. reactionary circles exploited to a greater or lesser degree.

We could say that Indira Gandhi's death is part of a lengthy chain of conspiracies aimed at eliminating progressive leaders in order to change the course that their countries had been following.

Gandhi's Death Decried

LD011844 Moscow World Service in English 1530 GMT 1 Nov 84

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The tragic news came from Delhi. The Indian prime minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi had died. Her great country is bereaved. Indian political and public leaders condemn the crime which claimed Mrs Gandhi's life. The crime has caused anguish among the Soviet people. They know Indira Gandhi as an outstanding leader of friendly India. India's history and achievements along the path of national resurgence are linked with her name.

Indira Gandhi carried out the political course worked out by such leaders as Mahatma Gandhi and Jawahar Lal Nehru. Along that path India has solved its inner problems. The greatly increased international prestige of the country, a great Asian power, is linked with this path. The fact that her country's voice commanded authority in international affairs owed much to Indira Gandhi. As the leader of the Non-aligned Movement she acted for the peaceful future of her country and the rest of mankind. The wise voice of a person convinced of being right sounded in the last public speech by Indira Gandhi in the state of Orissa. She said that in any nuclear war there would be neither winners nor losers. Who could know at that time that these words were destined to become her political behest.

The bullets of assassins severed the life of this outstanding person totally dedicated to the idea of India's national unity. Indira Gandhi denounced any displays of violence and terrorism, both in her own country and in relations between states. The only right path to solve problems is the path of talks: She said that in an appeal to the nation on the 2 June 1984. The answer was a shot in Delhi. That was all that those who disagreed with Indira Gandhi's course could counter it with. This tragedy was the end of a web of intrigues and plots weaved for many years by the adversaries of great and united India. The tragedy was avoided 3 years ago. The assassination attempt on Indira Gandhi's life was foiled then. Today, the whole of India mourns. Time is yet to identify not only the immediate executors of the crime but also the people who inspired them. It will identify the names of those who preach the psychology of gangsterism in relations between people as well as in relations between states.

Indira Gandhi visited the Soviet Union many times. She was always received here with warmth and hospitality, as the leader and ambassador of a great nation. Each visit by her was a stage in strengthening Soviet-Indian relations. Indira Gandhi made her own contribution -- which is well known in the Soviet Union -- to this friendship, a valuable asset for the peoples of both countries. The documents sealed by her signature determine the future of Soviet-Indian relations. The tragic shots in Delhi can not stop the onward movement of India just as the designs of those who murdered Mahatma Gandhi did not materialize. There were many tragedies in the history of India, but, overcoming the difficulties, the people of the great country, who became free, have been moving forward.

The Gandhi Assassination

SOURCE FBIS, Eastern Europe, 2 November 1984, pp. D1, D4

PAGES 2

CIA SAID INVOLVED IN PUNJAB UNREST, ASSASSINATION

RUDE PRAVO Cited

LD021059 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0830 GMT 2 Nov 84

[From the Press Review]

[Text] Milan Madr writes in RUDE PRAVO about the pressure from imperialist forces on India, which carries out the peace policy of nonalignment. He points out that the peaceful and independent policy of India has not been and is not to the liking of imperialist circles. The American Central Intelligence Agency, CIA, carries out disruptive action on a wide front within India. The Indian press has published numerous significant material about the shameless interference of the United States in the internal affairs of India and about the subversive activity of the CIA in the Punjab and other Indian states. By giving the order that an end should be put to the stream of violence and terror, Indira Gandhi earned herself the deadly hatred of internal reaction. Indira Gandhi payed for the cooperation of separatists with imperialism -- with its secret services and its financial, material and moral, if one can call it that, support from abroad -- with her life.

Indian, Western Papers Cited

LD011753 Prague CTK in English 1648 GMT 1 Nov 84

[Excerpts] New Delhi Nov 1 (CTK correspondent) -- The Indian paper the NATIONAL HERALD said today that Indira Gandhi's death will not remove her from the world scene and her ideas about human fraternity will continue to set the trend of this and future generations.

The STATESMAN pointed out a program of the BBC of June 12 this year in which one of the Sikh extremist leaders in exile Jagjit Singh Chowhan [name as received] said that Indira Gandhi and members of her family would be assassinated.

West Berlin -- The paper DIE WARHEIT pointed out that Western bourgeois media would like to pass the assassination of Mrs Gandhi quickly with stating that it was a "revenge of religious extremists." The daily recalled the "Brahmaputra" plan worked out by the CIA, based on fomenting separatist feelings in North India with the aim to cause its individual states to break away.

U.S. Desires Indian Disunity

LD012057 Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1830 GMT 1 Nov 84

[Excerpt] According to reports, Sikh property is becoming a target for attacks. Both of Indira Gandhi's assassins belonged to this Indian religious minority: One was shot dead by her guards and the other, who was mortally wounded, died in hospital. Both were part of the Sikh extremist movement which for some time now has been causing bloody unrest in India. The Sikh separatists are thus undermining the state unity of this country in the interests of imperialist forces, which are attempting to weaken India's progressive path. Anti-Indian Sikh groups are also very active abroad, particularly in Britain and the United States. Some of the representatives of these disruptive forces even went so far as to openly and vociferously welcome the murder of Indira Gandhi. State terrorism is the expression with which some Indian papers evaluate U.S. policy toward India.

At this very moment when the overwhelming majority of the world public views the murder of Indira Gandhi as an irreplaceable loss and condemns the assassination as a brutal crime, more is involved than what meets the eye and it points to the real causes and intentions of the U.S. ruling circles.

The Gandhi Assassination

SOURCE FBIS, Eastern Europe, 5 November 1984, pp. D2-D3

PAGES 2

U.S. ACCUSED IN SIKH UNREST, GANDHI MURDER

U.S. Opposes Indian Neutrality

LD022134 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 2 Nov 84

[Jiri Cebrovsky Commentary entitled "An Anatomy of One Murder"]

[Text] With the exception of the leaders of Sikh fanatics, the world, including the U.S. President, has publicly condemned the murder of Indira Gandhi.

It would however be shortsighted and naive to think that speeches condemning the brutal assassination such as that conveyed for instance by the White House are meant sincerely and honestly. The fact is that one cannot resist the impression that what is involved is pretended indignation, the aim of which is to confuse people's thinking and silence beforehand all voices drawing attention to the real perpetrators of the crime.

The history of India, including its modern history, is instructive. As soon as the new state decided in favor of an independent path of development Washington reacted in such a way that it accused the leadership in Delhi of immoral neutrality. The fact was that the White House had hoped that India, having extricated itself from British domination, would soon let itself be drawn into the U.S. sphere of influence.

The notions of the U.S. ruling circles however soon encountered reality. Under the leadership of Nehru and his daughter, Indira Gandhi, India has become a state which is beginning to consistently strengthen internal unity and economic growth while acting on the international arena as a supporter of peace, cooperation and friendship. This was, for instance, at variance with the objectives of Washington, which regards the Indian subcontinent as an area of crucial importance for gaining domination over Asia. And it is both interesting as well as symptomatic that these very people -- or their pupils, as the case may be -- who talked in the Fifties about the immorality of neutrality, began to reproach the Indira Gandhi government for not adhering to neutrality or to nonalignment. As proof they pointed to India's growing cooperation with the Soviet Union, the countries of the socialist community, and progressive states of the developing world -- arguments which convinced them of perfidy.

The leading U.S. circles attempted to confront the resolute and immutable foreign policy course of the Indian Government through external threats and internal chaos and destabilization. In an interview for Czechoslovak Radio Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said: They want us to be weak: they want us to give from our already limited reserves even more for defense and less for the needs of the people.

The Pakistani regime, maintained by American dollars and equipped with American arms, has had the sole task of creating by its actions a situation in which war is inevitable. By fanning religious and nationality conflict -- and this too can be paid for by dollars -- the already very complicated internal political situation in India was to have been brought to a head. Taking it all together, external pressure plus a crisis at home would force the government to alter its foreign policy course in favor of the United States, of course.

And there is another variant here. According to the Brahmaputra plan, which was worked out by the subversive American espionage agency, the CIA, India was to have been gradually parcelled out into tens of small and even smaller states. In the style of the Romans and then the British, the divide and rule principle was given a new guise in the plans of the CIA and American politicians who, of course, are aware that the United States would be the prime beneficiary of its outcome. The fact that the separatist efforts of the Sikh extremists to decouple the federal state of Punjab from India and to form allegedly an independent Khalistan were supported and financed by Washington, is crystal clear. There is a wealth of evidence in this respect.

President Ronald Reagan, who expressed his indignation at the death of Indira Gandhi, is the self-same politician who received the self-appointed president of the so-called Sikh Khalistan, a man who expressed his enthusiasm at the fact that the Indian prime minister was murdered by Sikh extremists.

GHANDHI ASSASSINATION LINKED TO OTHER ATTEMPTS

AU051822 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Nov 84 p 6

[Kiril Yanev article: "Secret Targets and Obvious Targets"]

[Text] Indira Gandhi -- Another name has been added to the black list of political assassinations in our century. During the last days of her life, "foreboding" and "premonitions" about her were in the air. She not only received threatening letters and barely concealed ultimatums, but a whole atmosphere of malicious hatred was created around her by certain Western circles, all of which anticipated her assassination. Now the triggers have been pulled and she has been killed. Once more we are left with the sinister questions of who wanted to kill her and why?

She was killed in the most perfidious manner. She was shot, and those who killed her shot her in the manner of the most fanatic and most perfidious assassins -- in an ambush, by surprise, with automatic weapons. What is more, the killers were the same people who were in charge of protecting the prime minister. The sinister experience of our century has taught us that such an attack can hardly be termed "improvised" or an "impromptu action", since it presumes lengthy, well concealed, and well coordinated preparation. It is presumed that the killers were Sikhs who supposedly acted in retaliation for the government's military action in the "Golden Temple" of Amritsar -- as if the separatist conspiracy was not itself a dangerous attack against the integrity of India. We have no doubt at all that the evil mechanism behind this action will become apparent in the coming days. Such ugly secrets always have a "boomerang" effect and are not very long-lasting. In addition, the signature of the assassins is well enough known that no one can be deceived.

Why was Indira Gandhi killed? We can provide no quick and easily answer to this question, which is on all our minds. If the head of state of a 700-million strong anti-imperialist, anticolonialist, and antimilitarist country is physically eliminated it obviously evokes strong suspicions. At the same time it clarifies matters. When a politician is killed it is always for the purpose of eliminating a certain policy.

Let us put aside an examination of the criminal side of this conspiracy until later. As for the political motivation of this act, we can already talk about it. It does not leave any room for doubt. Indira Gandhi, herself, mentioned this some time ago in an interview for the daily NEPSZABADSAG when she said: "Ideas about splitting India are being more and more frequently broached these days, especially after we achieved certain successes in implementing our plans and after I assumed the leadership of the Nonaligned Countries Movement."

This is actually the crucial point of the conspiracy. This is where to look for the secret targets and the obvious ones. India, with its domestic and foreign policy, is the target. Naturally, the state leader of this country, who proved her resolute determination in defending the country's integrity and in fighting poverty and backwardness, was at the center of the target.

Things become no less obvious when we compare this assassination with known political assassinations of the recent past. As a rule, the state leaders who are killed are those who were conducting a progressive policy, who showed remarkable leadership qualities, and who had brilliant minds, charisma, high cultural standards, and an indomitable spirit; or, people who at crucial moments have adopted correct decisions.

Was this not the case with Mahatma Gandhi, the fighter for India's independence, or was the assassination of Solomon Bandaranayke, the prime minister of Sri Lanka any different? For the same reasons people like Patrice Lumumba, the prime minister of Congo, and Amilcar Cabral, the general secretary of the African Party of Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde islands were placed on the list of "unsuitable" people.

The same fate was shared by Salvador Allende, in Chile; Mujibur Rahman in Bangladesh; Marian Nguabi in the People's Republic of Congo; and Maurice Bishop in Grenada. As a rule both the secret and obvious targets combined in the same focus. Then, too, the killers left their dens and pulled the trigger. There is a sinister method in removing leaders of "Third World" countries who, having suffered through the tragic experience of their peoples, dedicated themselves to solving the problems of their countries' future development. We are talking only about the top state leaders killed in recent years. However, the list of other personalities killed in the recent past is horribly long and is dangerously increasing. The nature of the target and the actual operations are always appallingly the same.

Let us recall for example the 24 attempts to assassinate Fidel Castro which have been detected and listed. Let us talk about the conspiracies against the leadership of the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua. There are plans behind all this. Paid killers and traitors who have been highly rewarded have been in operation. Directives, instructions, slogans, and "manuals," as well as "cover campaigns" exist. Quite recently, we trembled with indignation on hearing the sinister confessions of one of those knights of the cloak and dagger, a CIA agent. In an interview with "Mr Death" we heard of the horrible "wonders" of his "company" using guns with poisoned bullets, sprays with an immediate deadly effect, as well as miniature bombs and portable missiles -- in a nutshell -- an incredible range of psychological drugs, "methods of suicide," and "infallible" sniper rifles. All these confessions, however, were followed by a brief epilogue: It stated that when the text of the interview was ready for publication, news of the death of ... "Mr. Death" arrived. Apparently he knew too much and had talked more than was permissible! Some people called this a mystery! What can we say, however, about the "assassination manuals" found recently among the equipment of mercenaries killed in Nicaragua?

History has proved that the sparks from the shots that killed one or another noble political figure have actually illuminated the darkness that surrounded the sinister faces of the killers, who wished to remain in the shadows at all costs. We can be sure that this will be so in the case of Indira Gandhi, who was killed, but whose cause is so great and noble that it cannot be destroyed or eliminated. Others will adopt her cause and the people will continue it!

Beneficiaries of Death Noted

LDO40630 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0001 GMT 4 Nov 84

[Text] When a political killing is carried out, it is relevant to ask the question: Who benefits from this? In this connection, the PRAVDA international observer cites a remark by Indira Gandhi herself. Certain foreign forces, she said, are trying to exert pressure on our country and impose their will upon it. One of the reasons they are exerting pressure upon India is because it pursues the peace-loving policy of non-alignment. The attempts to fetter India's positive role in the international arena are undertaken in two directions. First, attempts are made to encircle India in a hostile blockade by rapidly rearming Pakistan and provoking anti-Indian sentiments in other countries -- Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Nepal. Second, the stake is placed upon undermining the internal unity of India, relying upon the national, religious, caste, linguistic, and other differences between separate groups of the population. The goal of the imperialist intrigues is to break India away from active participation in world affairs.

Killing Due to 'Enemies' Abroad

PM021331 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 84 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Rajiv Gandhi's Statement"]

[Excerpts] Delhi, 1 Nov TASS -- Sorrow and anger at the villainous assassination of Indira Gandhi, daughter of the Indian people -- these are the feelings now felt by hundreds of millions of Indians. Various political parties, business circles, and trade unions sternly condemn this crime and demand punishment for its perpetrators. Many public figures and politicians, including figures of the opposition parties, unanimously agree that this vile act is the handiwork of enemies of an independent India abroad. It is precisely they who dislike Indira Gandhi's foreign policy directed toward the struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism, and racism, against the danger of war, and for the preservation of peace. The moment of the assassination was not chosen by chance, for it was obvious that there was virtually no doubt about the victory of the Indian National Congress Party in the elections.

Opponents of stability and unity are now continuing their subversive activity in the country.

The UNI agency reports that a mass protest demonstration against the assassination of Indira Gandhi took place in front of the building of the U.S. General Consulate in the city of Madras. There was also a strong protest demonstration near the building of the American Consulate in Calcutta.

These days mourning rallies are being held throughout the country, and representatives of the various states are arriving in Delhi to take their leave of Indira Gandhi. Messages of condolence on the death of the Indian people's glorious daughter are being sent to the Government of the Republic of India from all corners of the earth.

U.S. Seeks 'To Deflect Blame'

LD031919 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Nov 84 p 4

[TASS report: "Inflammatory Speculations"]

[Text] Moscow November 3 TASS -- The villainous murder of Indira Gandhi has caused a storm of indignation throughout the world. The preliminary investigation has shown that the outstanding daughter of the Indian people has fallen victim to a conspiracy.

Speaking at a meeting of the parliamentary faction of the ruling INC (I) [Indian National Congress (I)] Party, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi said that the conspiracy had been plotted by forces of destabilization," which had opposed her policies. He stressed that Indira Gandhi "had paid the highest price for the ideology she had been guided by in her home and foreign policies."

Along with spontaneous manifestations of protest against the heinous crime, there have been registered in India these days also planned seditious activities aiming to stir up religious and communal strife and discord between different nationalities. The newspaper PATRIOT reported in this connection the spread of false rumors across the country designed to further strain [nakalivaniye] the situation to a flashpoint. PATRIOT said the campaign involved the Western press and some Indian bourgeois newspapers.

It is noteworthy that Washington hurried to issue a provocative "forecast" about the development of the situation in India.

Answering a correspondent's question, U.S. President Reagan went to the length of alleging that the USSR was going to take advantage of the situation taking shape there in its own interests, while a U.S. State Department spokesman calumniously charged that the Soviet press was encouraging anti-American sentiments in India and fomenting violence.

These statements have served as a kind of signal for American official circles and several news outlets to mount a fresh anti-Soviet campaign. The impression is that by pushing such anti-Soviet speculations some people in the United States would like to deflect the blame away from the true culprits responsible for India's tragedy and from their patrons.

Assassins Supported Overseas

PM031907 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Nov 84 First Edition p 5

[S. Bulantsev article under the rubric "Delhi on the Line": "Who Guided the Murderers' Hand?"]

[Text] The old proverb says that time is the best healer. However, the terrible wound inflicted on India's very heart will not heal quickly, because the tragic loss of the outstanding politician and statesman on whom the Indian people pinned their hopes for a better life cannot be made good. There can scarcely be an honest person in India now who is not wondering who guided the hand of Indira Gandhi's murderers.

Analyzing the circumstances of the assassination and the details of the official inquiry, the press is unanimous in observing that the monstrous crime was the result of a carefully planned conspiracy by reactionary forces with support from abroad. The press points out that, in an interview broadcast on 12 June by the BBC, a certain L J. S. Chohan, boss of the Sikh separatists (he has found a permanent refuge in London, and Indian papers have reported several times on his close links with Western special services -- S.B.), announced that Indira Gandhi and the members of her family would be physically eliminated within a certain period.

Any news is particularly valuable when it is obtained, so to speak, first-hand, on the spot. I asked for a line to Delhi. I heard, muffled by the great distance and tinged with deep sorrow, the voice of an old friend -- the publicist and political observer known throughout India, (V.D. Chopry).

[Question] What are the Indian people's foremost thoughts in these difficult days?

[Answer] For million of Indians Indira Gandhi was a symbol of the struggle to achieve socioeconomic progress and build a society in which no one would be hungry or deprived. Every one of us feels her death as the loss of someone near and dear. However, we will not allow our grief to become despair. We will overcome this difficult time and rally even closer to implement the ideals to which Indira Gandhi devoted her entire life. That will be the best memorial to a remarkable person.

[Question] I know from working in India that the Indian press is very well informed. What do journalistic circles think about Indira Gandhi's murder?

[Answer] An inquiry is in progress, and until it is completed it is too soon to talk about the results of the investigation. However, I -- and many other journalists, as well as politicians and public figures -- believe that the assassination is linked in the most inseparable manner with the valuable anti-Indian campaign unleashed in the West and in Pakistan in recent times.

Indeed, it is no accident that appeals for vigilance are to be heard with increasing frequency in the developing countries. We must constantly keep in mind the bitter fate of those developing countries where -- as in Chile, for example -- the forces of imperialism have succeeded in implementing their subversive plans.

Rare gesture of homage in Moscow

MOSCOW, Nov. 4.—Flags of mourning were hoisted atop Government buildings in Moscow yesterday in a rare gesture of homage to Mrs Indira Gandhi on the day of the funeral, reports PTI.

The flags have been hoisted on the buildings of the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and the Russian federation, the USSR Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Moscow City Soviet and the Friendship House, which accommodates the Soviet-Indian Friendship Society, and the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies.

Bells pealed in temples and churches in Nairobi as special prayers were held yesterday in memory of Mrs Indira Gandhi.

Since early morning people of Indian origin made their way to temples, where priests chanting sholkas, led the prayers. Churches were packed with several Africans, in a rare tribute to the slain leader.

People of Indian origin held meetings to pay homage to the departed leader. The Hindu Council of Kenya passed a resolution condoling Mrs Gandhi's death.

A solemn ceremony was held in Hanoi yesterday to mark the death of Indira Gandhi, who forged close ties with Vietnam, the Vietnam News Agency reported.

The ceremony was attended by ranking leaders, including Mr Pham Van Dong, President of the Council of Ministers.

A large number of grief-stricken Indians assembled at India House in Singapore yesterday to mourn the death of Mrs Gandhi. Business houses run by Indians remained closed as a mark of respect to her memory.

The meeting, presided over by the High Commissioner Mr Gopala Krishna Pillai, adopted a resolution of condolence to the Indian President, followed by two minutes' silence. Many speakers lauded Mrs Gandhi's untiring efforts to sustain the unity of India and her immense contribution to international understanding.

Temples and mosques held prayers, while churches will have special services during the Sabbath tomorrow.

Thousands of Sri Lankans lined

up patiently at the India House in Colombo for the third day today waiting for their turn to sign the condolence book. Some of them broke into tears as they bowed before Mrs Gandhi's portrait.

All leading private sectors, commercial and industrial establishments remained closed in the capital today in response to a call by the Government, which declared a public holiday in view of Mrs Gandhi's funeral.

National Television Corporation advanced its day's transmission by two-and-half hours to accommodate special live telecast of the funeral in New Delhi, via satellite.

'External aid for Sikh extremists'

MADISON (Wisconsin), Nov. 4.—It is "increasingly apparent" in the wake of Indira Gandhi's assassination that Sikh extremists in India receive financial or other support from Sikhs outside the country, the Indian Ambassador to the USA, Mr K. S. Bajpai, said yesterday, reports AP.

Mr Bajpai said his country's investigation of last week's assassination was yet to determine if the two Sikh guards acted alone in the murder or on behalf of someone else.

Speaking at a Press conference prior to a speech at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, he said: "It was undoubtedly pre-planned."

News reports showing some Sikhs rejoicing in the USA and elsewhere indicated to him that the assassins might have received support for the plot from sources outside India, he said. Extremist Sikh exiles had repeatedly threatened her life.

Mr Bajpai described the rejoicing as "appalling" in view of the "acute political crisis and violence" the assassination had caused his country.

At least 42 people were killed and 45 injured, when a fire swept through a village in the Nile delta. The fire, which broke out on Friday morning in El-Dahriya village, about 200 km north of Cairo, destroyed 400 houses.—DPA.

SOURCE

FBIS (USSR), 8 November 1984, pp. D1-D2

PAGES 1

INDIAN PRESS SEES WEST CONNIVING WITH SIKH EMIGRES

LD081127 Moscow TASS in English 1006 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Text] New Delhi November 8 TASS -- The Government of India has expressed concern over the connivance of U.S., British and Canadian authorities at Sikh emigre organisations operating in their countries. In the past few days the leaders of these organisations made provocative and openly anti-Indian statements, Maharaj Krishna Rasgotra, secretary for external affairs at the Ministry of External Affairs of India, told the ambassadors of the mentioned countries.

Despite repeated requests by the Indian Government that British authorities take effective measures against the Sikh extremists based in Britain, London refuses to do so under different pretexts, the NATIONAL HERALD newspaper writes.

It has become known here that the London police again found no convincing reason for investigating the malignant activities of G.S. Chauhan, self-proclaimed "president of Khalistan" who made vicious inciting statements on BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) a few days ago. The Indian newspaper writes further that one gets the impression that British authorities simply do not want to put an end to a vicious anti-Indian campaign conducted by Sikh emigre groups which have openly been calling for terror against India's statesmen and pressing for the partitioning of the country.

The Indian press makes note of numerous U.S. media reports distorting the situation in India and speculating about the difficulties into which the country ran in the first days following the death of India's outstanding stateswoman, Indira Gandhi. The newspaper DECCAN HERALD writes that THE NEW YORK TIMES and U.S. television savor different rumors and allegations concerning the situation in India, deliberately distorting and presenting in a wrong perspective the steps made by the new Indian Government to rally the Indian people and promote its unity. It should be mentioned that several U.S. television programs showed dispatches from headquarters of the Sikh extremists in New York and U.S. west coast where on the days of mourning for Mrs. Indira Gandhi members of the splinter groupings noisily celebrated the assassination. Such dispatches are nothing less than blasphemy to all Indians.

SOURCE FBIS (USSR), 13 November 1984, pp. D2-D5

PAGES 4

U.S., BRITAIN SEEN ENCOURAGING INDIAN DISUNITY

PM121403 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Nov 84 First Edition p 3

[S. Bulantsev article under the rubric "Who Is Inspiring the Anti-Indian Campaign in the West": "Inflammatory Conjectures"]

[Text] The 12-day period of mourning proclaimed in connection with the tragic death of Indira Gandhi ends tomorrow in India. The ashes from her funeral pyre will be scattered over the country from an aircraft in accordance with the deceased's will and national custom. The republic is gradually recovering from the painful grief caused by the untimely loss of their acknowledged and beloved leader. Life is returning to normal in cities and villages and the government has established effective control over the actions of the antinational elements who are trying to incite religious and communal discord.

This turn of events patently does not suit India's enemies. Virtually every day the Western press, particularly the American press, publishes various conjectures and speculations regarding the current situation and the future course of events in India. Thus, THE WASHINGTON POST predicts a "long period of uncertainty," "serious instability," and "new friction with Pakistan." The same paper is provocatively fanning some "potential Soviet threat to the Indian subcontinent." THE NEW YORK TIMES carries a provocative article on "police connivance" during the "mass reprisals against the Sikhs." The CBS television company is effectively engaging in agitation against the Sikhs; they say they are "the most successful section of the Indian population, but want even more -- not just power, but privileges and prestige." THE WASHINGTON POST observer, W. Buckley, comes out in support of creating an "independent Sikh state," that is, in favor of the territorial division of India.... In brief, the American press has once again been swamped by a wave of anti-Indian articles, many of which can only be described as interference in India's internal affairs.

Today, we must again pay tribute to Indira Gandhi's political perspicacity. In her last interview with GDR television and the newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, which was disseminated in Delhi the day before her death, Indira Gandhi replied to a question on the causes of the anti-Indian campaign among certain foreign circles: "This campaign has been under way for a long time. It was going on in the time of Mahatma Gandhi and in my father's time. However, recently it has been significantly stepped up. I am convinced that as our elections draw nearer it will be stepped up even more and that various kinds of slander, falsehood, and excessively exaggerated reports about events in our country will be disseminated."

The aim of the slander campaign, of which Indira Gandhi spoke less than 2 weeks ago, is clear enough. There is no doubt that Washington is ready to pay any price to remove from power those political forces of India that are at the helm of government in the country today. This is because the foreign policy of those forces is a serious obstacle for the United States to realize its regional ambitions and pretensions to world domination. For that reason, Washington's propaganda apparatus is trying to exert a very definite influence on the mood and views of the Indian electorate.

An unscrupulous anti-Indian game is also being played in Britain. Its top leadership is displaying miracles of pharisaism and hypocrisy by inciting the Sikh emigres based there to terror and violence against the Indian leaders. Back in June, the Sikh separatist leader Chohan publicly announced plans for an attempt on the life of Indira Gandhi. However, as M. Thatcher cynically announced on this score, "the police did not manage to find sufficient evidence to start proceedings for incitement to violence." What then? Inspired by his impunity, Chohan said recently in London that Indira Gandhi deserved death and the same fate would befall her son and heir, Rajiv. Once again, there were somewhat indistinct mutterings in the British corridors of power about "lack of evidence."

India's enemies believe that political assassinations together with threats and slander will cast the country into the abyss of anarchy, chaos, and unrest. They do not abandon hope of undermining the republic's national unity and securing the liquidation of the political course of Jawahar Lal Nehru and Indira Gandhi. Illusory hopes! The words of the late prime minister at her last mass meeting held in Orissa State on the day before her murder are frequently recalled in India now: "I would be proud to die serving the motherland. I believe that every drop of my blood will serve the country and help to make it strong and dynamic."

INDIAN SEPARATISTS THREATEN RAJIV GANDHI

NC101245 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 10 Nov 84

[Text] PRAVDA writes that the hope of India's domestic and foreign enemies that Indira Gandhi's assassination would lead to a profound crisis in the country has been upset. Thousands of peace marches with slogans calling for the consolidation of the foundations of national unity and for defense of the country's territorial integrity can currently be seen throughout the country. PRAVDA points out that anti-Indian activities in the West have caused concern among India's residents. Leaders of the secessionists, who have nested in the United States and Britain, have threatened that they will send a fresh group of terrorists to India to assassinate India's present Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. Meanwhile, Rajiv Gandhi's government, which enjoys the vast support of the people and many political parties, announced that it will continue its struggle for peace and its active participation in the Nonaligned Movement.

COMMENTARY ON CIA ACTIVITIES IN INDIA

LD121214 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 12 Nov 84

[From the "Time, Events, and People" program presented by Yuliy Semenov, with Yevgeniy Kachanov commentary]

[Text] The situation in India continues to arouse great interest among our listeners. According to reports from Delhi, another three terrorists have been arrested in the State of Punjab; the Indian Government has ordered an investigation into their crimes. THE TIMES OF INDIA newspaper reports that they are responsible for numerous acts of sabotage and terrorism committed in one of the districts in the state. I hand the microphone over to our commentator, Yevgeniy Kachanov:

The dramatic events of the last few months in India, which culminated in the killing of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, have acutely brought to the country's attention the question of the real threat to India's unity and territorial integrity, the threat created by the actions of various types of separatists and their foreign patrons. Indeed, not a day passes without some new terrorist crime, be it in Punjab, Kashmir, or other regions of India, hitting the headlines.

At the same time, there are reports of decisive government measures, arrests of extremists and the smashing of entire gangs. Operations have now been launched against anti-national elements in the northeastern state of Tripura, where there have been casualties as a result of actions by cut-throats infiltrating from abroad. The security forces in the state have been put on heightened alert, and measures have been taken to strengthen border protection.

I wish to draw your attention to another report from Delhi. In the local court, the trial of a group of arrested agents of the U.S. CIA has just started.

Their activities consisted not just of gathering intelligence reports, but also of direct actions aimed at undermining India's defense capability. Characteristically, as soon as the first reports of the trial reached the press, several high-ranking officials at the U.S. Embassy in Delhi immediately left India, ahead of schedule. Indirect, of course, but sufficiently convincing evidence of the involvement of the U.S. diplomatic services in activities that are in no way compatible with their status.

I cite the opinion of the well-known Indian publicist Pauly V. Parakal, the author of the book "The Secret Wars of the CIA," which has just been published by the Delhi Sterling Publishers publishing house. Assassination of state and political leaders, government coups, organization of military, economic and political sabotage against sovereign states -- such is the far from complete list of means in the arsenal of the U.S. spy department, the author writes. For many years, Pauly Parakal continues, the CIA has been carrying out sabotage operations against independent India; according to a plan that American strategists have worked out, India is to cease to exist as a single state by the year 2000. They are counting on anti-Indian separatist groupings to execute this plan. The author points out that it is precisely thanks to CIA patronage that the Punjab separatist ringleaders found refuge in the West and were even able to set up a so-called consulate there of the so-called state of Khalistan.

Both Britain and the FRG, as well as other Western countries, are rendering assistance to the Punjab schismatics. It was from there that a group of extremists recently arrived in Pakistan; their tasks include carrying out terrorist acts against members of the Indian Government and a number of leaders of the country's political parties. In these conditions, the Indian Government's measures to deflect the threat of the country's unity and territorial integrity assumes particular importance. The same may be said of the investigation into the circumstances of Indira Gandhi's assassination. THE TIMES OF INDIA says that the authorities have at their disposal information pointing to foreign involvement in the plot. Many details about this crime will probably be elucidated in the near future.

INDIAN BOOK DEPICTS CIA AS 'CORPORATION OF MURDER'

LD111716 Moscow TASS in English 1650 GMT 11 Nov 84

[Text] New Delhi November 11 TASS -- The book by prominent Indian publicist Pauly Parakal, which was issued by the New Delhi "Sterling Publishers Ltd.", describes the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency as a corporation of murder. The assassination of statesmen and political leaders, coups d'etats, acts of military, economic and political sabotage of sovereign states are just some of the methods in the arsenal of the American espionage department, the book says.

The CIA, says the book on the clandestine wars waged by the CIA, is one of the most important instruments of United States foreign policy. There is no doubt that all the "foul deeds" of the CIA's headquarters in Langley are perpetrated with official Washington's knowledge. Nicaragua, Afghanistan and Poland are just some of the countries, against which the CIA agents wage large-scale subversive activities, with the blessing of the White House, and in an attempt at destabilizing the legitimate governments there.

For many years now, the book continues, the U.S. espionage agency has been engaged in subversive operations also against independent India. The American strategists have drawn up, in particular, a plan under which India is to cease to exist as an integral state by the year of 2000. To implement the plan, stake is placed on anti-Indian separatist groupings. It is with the CIA's blessing, P. Parakal points out, that the heads of the Punjab extremists have found refuge in the West and could even set up there "consulates" of the non-existent "Sikh Khalistan state".

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Any country, which does not wish to follow in the footsteps of United States policy, becomes a target of CIA's acts of subversion, the Indian publicist writes in conclusion.

Who benefits from politics of assassination?

From Vinod Taksal

Moscow, Nov 5 — Premier Nikolai Tikhonov, heading a high-level Soviet Government delegation which attended the state funeral of Indira Gandhi returned to Moscow yesterday.

The Premier was received at the airport by his influential Politbureau colleagues Grigory Romanov and Geidar Aliev, alternate member of Politbureau Boris Ponomarev, senior government and party officials, and Indian charge d'affaires A Madhavan.

First Vice-President Vasily Kuznetsov and first deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Maltsev, who had accompanied Mr Tikhonov in paying high tributes to Indira Gandhi, also returned with him by special plane.

Mr Tikhonov who, besides attending the funeral, had a meeting with new Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and called on President Zail Singh, made no comments on his talks with the Indian leaders, but was apparently satisfied with the warm and friendly discussions.

The central TV network, which on Saturday night carried a special report on Indira Gandhi's funeral and Mr Tikhonov's meetings in Delhi, along with central newspapers, this morning stressed that the exchanges between Mr Rajiv Gandhi and the Soviet leader were marked by the warmth and cordiality that characterises Indo-Soviet relations.

Mr Tikhonov, the media reports underlined, not only conveyed to Indians the personal anguish of Soviet President Chernenko at the tragic loss of Indira Gandhi, but also affirmed Soviet readiness to assist India in enhancing its economic independence and strengthening its international role.

The basic thrust of the talks, the media emphasised, was towards strengthening existing bilateral relations of cordial friendship and close cooperation in diverse fields, including in international affairs.

The media contrasted this with Mr Rajiv Gandhi's meeting with US Secretary of State George Schultz. The Indian Prime Minister had taken up with Mr Schultz the issue of massive supplies of sophisticated US arms to Pakistan and conveyed India's soreness on the score, the media noted.

In apparent approval of Mr Rajiv Gandhi, the media have also highlighted his two successive addresses to the nation, calling for restraint and restoration of normalcy and communal harmony, and his visit to riot-torn areas of Delhi barely a few hours before he performed the last rites of his mother.

In the context of violence and the toll it has taken in various parts of the country, the media here have pointed out that the popular anger against Indira Gandhi's assassination was not

only against the Sikh community, whose two members carried out the heinous crime, but against western circles who have colluded with extremist Sikh groupings and leaders like Mr Jagjit Singh Chauhan.

Other separatist, extremist and religious communal elements were trying to exploit the people's aroused sentiments and instigated hoodlums were unleashing a wave on violence in a bid to destabilise the situation in the country, the reports said. The new leadership of the country, however, was handling the situation firmly and restoring normalcy.

The Soviet press has also retorted to the US administration, which protested to Soviet authorities against allegations of CIA involvement in Indira Gandhi's assassination.

In a commentary, party organ Pravda today said that when a political assassination is carried out, the question of who benefits from it naturally emerges.

Prominent Indian political and public figures are unanimous that external forces hostile to India are, if not directly, then indirectly, involved in the crime, Pravda said.

Indira Gandhi, it said, was associated with India's political and economic independence, its socio-economic progress and the growth of its international prestige. A powerful, united and dynamic India, pursuing an independent foreign policy, was a hindrance to forces of imperialism and colonialism.

India's denunciation of US intervention in Indochina, its support to the Arab cause, opposition to racism, its demand for making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, its realistic approach to the Afghan issue and its recognition of Kampuchea — all this had given rise to discontent among India's foes, Pravda said, adding that the country had become the target of the subversive activity of imperialist forces.

Attempts to neutralise India's positive role in the world arena were two-pronged, the daily said. First was hostile encirclement of India by intensively arming Pakistan and by provoking anti-Indian sentiments in neighbouring Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Nepal. Second was to undermine India's unity by using separatist tendencies and outbreak of religious and communal strife to destabilise the situation within the country.

Aggravated domestic problems would rivet the leadership's attention, thus removing India's active participation in world affairs and make it vulnerable to outside pressure, Pravda said and referred to imperialist special services' involvement in attempts to balkanise the country. It expressed confidence, however, that the anti-Indian plans would fail.

Moscow Seen Continuing Propaganda Hints of U.S. Role In Gandhi Death Expected to Go On

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Foreign Service

NEW DELHI, Nov. 7—Moscow will keep trying to stir anti-American sentiment in India, including more hints of CIA complicity in the assassination of prime minister Indira Gandhi, to keep India's new leader, Rajiv Gandhi, from moving toward friendlier relations with Washington, western diplomatic sources here say.

The sources said this was a high-stakes gamble by the Kremlin because the effort is deeply resented by the Reagan administration. The Soviets risk "damaging very severely any hope of improving U.S.-Soviet relations" if they keep up that campaign, one diplomatic source said.

Moscow Radio first sought to link the CIA to the Sikh bodyguards who killed Gandhi one day after she was shot on Oct. 31. Since then, the Soviet news agency Tass and Communist Party newspaper Pravda have continued to publish suggestions that "external forces," implying the United States, were behind a conspiracy.

President Reagan called the Soviet reports the "world's biggest cheap shot." Secretary of State George P. Shultz said he "forcefully" complained to Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai A. Tikhonov on Nov. 3, when they met here after Indira Gandhi's funeral.

Shultz told reporters afterward that Tikhonov said "he had looked into it and the Soviet Union had no such view."

The Soviet reports have continued, however, appearing in Tass on Nov. 4 and Pravda on Nov. 5, and they have been passed along from Moscow by the Press Trust of India, an Indian news service. Sources here said this suggests that either Tikhonov was lying, or was not

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speaking authoritatively, or that Shultz misunderstood what Tikhonov was saying in the private meeting.

Whatever the case, one diplomat said, "I can't see them [the Soviets] backing off. They are uncertain enough about the current situation here, and uncertain about how Rajiv will go, so that they will keep it stirred up."

[The Associated Press said all Indian cities were reported quiet Wednesday for the second day running but, as a precautionary measure, the government prolonged until Nov. 18 its ban on assembly of more than five persons. Army troops patrolled the streets of New Delhi and at least 27 other north Indian cities. Night curfews remained in force in 103 towns.

[Reuter news service reported that a senior security officer was named to head an investigation of the Gandhi assassination and a major shakeup of internal intelligence was announced.]

Referring to Moscow's hints of U.S. involvement in the assassination, another diplomat said, "The Soviets are probably just getting geared up. I don't think we have seen the end of it."

He forecast the Soviets will keep the allegations alive to see how they are received by Indian newspapers, apart from the communist press. Thus far, the Soviet charges do not appear to have had much impact here and they have been condemned by a number of newspapers.

The sources said they believed, however, that the Soviets could continue such a campaign as long as the formal Indian government inquiry into the assassination is under way, which could take several months.

In the past, India has proven to be fertile ground for Soviet disinformation campaigns, the most recent of which was launched last

year when communist-oriented newspapers published what was purported to be a secret cable drafted by U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Jeane Kirkpatrick, outlining a U.S. strategy to promote the Balkanization of India and thereby subvert Soviet influence in the region.

Photographs of what the U.S. Embassy here said was obviously a forged State Department cable appeared in several Indian papers and became the focus of a brief debate in Parliament until the U.S. government countered with evidence that remarks about India in a speech Kirkpatrick had made before a conservative group in Washington had been lifted out of context, altered and put into the false cable.

"We are expecting other disinformation campaigns. There will be a major preoccupation with attempting to influence him [Rajiv Gandhi] against the United States," one diplomatic source said.

See INDIA, A31, Col. 1

INDIA, From A30

Both the slain prime minister and her son have often alluded obliquely to "foreign forces" that they said were bent on impeding India's development, but western political analysts have been uncertain whether Rajiv Gandhi made the comments to accommodate his mother or whether he actually believes that a conspiracy of external subversion is behind religious and civil unrest in India.

One diplomat said he thought Rajiv Gandhi, then the most influential of five Congress (I) Party general secretaries, may have made his comments about the vague "foreign hand" to placate hard-liners in the party.



UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

Worker removes debris from New Delhi business burned after Gandhi's death

The diplomat noted that when a voluminous government white paper on the Indian Army's assault on Amritsar's Golden Temple complex was issued in July, it made no mention of the United States despite some uncorroborated charges made publicly here that U.S. and Pakistani intelligence agents were involved in assisting and training Sikh separatist guerrillas in Pakistan.

Shortly after the white paper was issued, the Congress (I) Party published a pamphlet entitled "Conspiracy Revealed" in which the United States was mentioned in connection with external subversion. The move was seen as an attempt to appease party hard-liners upset by the tenor of the white paper.

Western diplomats said Gandhi's succession presents an opportunity for the United States to improve relations with India, which have been strained over increasing U.S. arms supplies to Pakistan.

Characterizing Rajiv Gandhi as more pragmatic and western-oriented than his mother, a western diplomat said he expected the new prime minister to at least "bring around a rethinking of relations with the United States."

"For the moment, we see no reason to doubt he will be more western and more open," he said.

Offsetting that prospect is the probability that the new prime minister will not tamper with Indian policies that are influenced by the

country's role in the Nonaligned Movement and its enduring economic and military ties to the Soviet Union.

Complicating the equation is the influence of those policy makers in Washington who favor increasing military aid to Pakistan even at the expense of hurting relations between the United States and India. Similarly, there is the influence of some Indian foreign policy advisers who have consistently resisted closer ties to the United States until it scales down its military commitment to Pakistan, diplomatic observers said.

Additionally, the Reagan administration will have to consider the effects of other irritants to its re-

lations with New Delhi, such as U.S. opposition to Asian Development Bank loans to India.

But a hopeful sign, diplomatic observers said, is that a U.S. delegation will be arriving here next week to discuss increased transfer of technology to India. The Indian side in the talks will be headed by a high-ranking official in Gandhi's government.

Reuter reported the following:

The Press Trust of India said the Home Ministry announced several key changes among senior police officers in charge of the prime minister's security when she was killed.

A ministry statement said S. Anand Ram, director-general of the Central Industrial Security Forces, was named to head a team to investigate the assassination. The CISF is a paramilitary force that protects state-owned factories.

INDIRA GANDHI'S LEGACY

END OF AN ERA

As we have said before, it would have been the betrayal of everything Indira Gandhi claimed to believe in if the wanton killings needlessly sparked off by her murder had also desecrated the solemnity of her funeral. Not only would that have demonstrated scant respect for the dead leader, it would also have disgraced India in the eyes of the world whose most eminent representatives were present in Delhi for the occasion. Their attendance helped to underline the significance of the obsequies for India and the world; for, irrespective of the views that may justifiably be held of Mrs Gandhi's political and economic management, her death marked the passing of an age. The prestige she enjoyed was to a large extent a reflection of this country's international standing: a recognition of its size and numbers, an acknowledgment of its potential and an admission that it is one of the few left in the Third World to still put into practice the principles of democratic governance. But it may also be argued that many of these national attributes directly flowed from its late Prime Minister's stewardship. The nexus is undeniable; even more so is the fact that Mrs Gandhi's unique personal contribution to India's standing in the world was a sense of style that was unmatched by her peers at home and only rarely by those abroad.

Possibly, the gathering of mourners would not have been so large or as exalted if Mrs Gandhi had not been chairman of the non-aligned nations movement. It may not be the most effective group of countries but, after the U.N. is probably the biggest; it was only proper, therefore, that member governments should treat its presiding officer's demise with appropriate respect. Indians would like to believe that the presence in Delhi on Saturday of the leaders of other nations, of the East as well as the West, indicated some appreciation of the inherent merit of non-alignment and of the former chairman's objectivity. This is especially so because India was often ac-

cused of not being sufficiently outspoken on issues like Kampuchea and Afghanistan, though even critics admitted that the difference lay, perhaps, more in method than in objective. The existence of a channel of informal communication with the Kremlin, and the hope that it encouraged of eventually influencing Soviet policy in both countries, was also welcomed. In the changed circumstances, that hope can survive only on the basis of a more explicit commitment by Mrs Gandhi's successor. He may be allowed less leeway than his mother, and will be expected to proclaim and enforce the true independence of the non-aligned movement if it is to serve the cause for which it was created.

An even more pressing obligation on Mr Rajiv Gandhi is the need to mend fences with Pakistan. Relations have deteriorated deplorably in recent months; but General Zia-ul-Haq's attendance at the funeral encourages the view that the basic goodwill demanded for a rapprochement has not completely been vitiated. Again, Mr Gandhi may find it necessary to take more positive steps if the present unhappy drift is to be checked, and India and Pakistan joined in constructive partnership. As with these foreign policy imperatives at home too, the new Prime Minister may discover that what his mother easily achieved or avoided calls for more strenuous effort on his part. This is not just a statement of Mr Rajiv Gandhi's youth and inexperience; it is also a tribute to the position occupied by Indira Gandhi. Whether her thinking and decisions were right or wrong, her personality and years in office had gained for her the right to be immediately heard and usually obeyed. The asset is not easily come by; its absence is bound to be keenly felt in the aftermath of a funeral that leaves India without a commanding figure at the helm. Mercifully, however, the gradual settling down of communal passions encourages the hope that the vacuum will not be exploited.

India's challenge after Mrs. Gandhi

THE world joins the people of India in sorrow over the assassination of India's prime minister, Indira Gandhi. It is regrettable that this falls within a pattern of violence that has beset leadership in many parts of the world, and in the modern Indian subcontinent in particular.

As the president of India said, Mrs. Gandhi was "gentle, soft-spoken, brilliant . . . the epitome of culture." She was the forceful, intelligent, and highly controversial leader of the world's largest democracy for 15 of the last 18 years. She had emerged as a spokesman for third-world nations on such issues as arms control and East-West tensions. Despite often difficult relations with other Western countries about, among other things, India's links with the Soviet Union, Mrs. Gandhi showed flexibility and courage in presenting her views — as in a July 1982 meeting with President Reagan in Washington.

By the immediate naming of Mrs. Gandhi's son Rajiv as prime minister, the Indian nation has once again begun the process of orderly transfer of power. The transfer is one evidence of continuity in modern India, supported by such democratic institutions as a vigorous free press, which are needed to confront that country's continuing religious, regional, ethnic, and cultural divisions.

Although opinion divides over the net effect of Mrs. Gandhi's own rule, it can be said that India has made much progress since its 1947 independence in keeping together a disparate country. She has her partisans, who credit her overall handling of the unity issue. Critics fault her government's military move early this summer, seizure of the Sikhs' Golden Temple, in which hundreds of Sikhs were slain. Some called her rule iron-handed.

In recent years Mrs. Gandhi's hold on both the nation and her Congress Party is thought to have been slipping, although she was heavily favored to retain her position in elections expected early next year. At the same time she had to grapple with the long-running communal violence, which most recently has included major Hindu-Muslim rioting and often-violent protests by militant Sikhs against the Hindu majority, as well as a persistently strong movement against immigrants in the Assam.

A major duty of her successor will be to resume the difficult challenge of encouraging the Indian peoples to view themselves as Indian nationals and not primarily as members of linguistic or cultural minorities. The ruling Congress Party must participate in this balancing of nationhood and ethnic identity.

Young democracies — and at 37 India is a young democracy — often go through difficult early decades in forging nationhood. One way India has sought to ensure continuity has been through nepotism. The family of

Jawaharlal Nehru — his daughter Mrs. Gandhi, and now her son Rajiv — has played a unique role in modern India. Mrs. Gandhi had originally been grooming her younger son, Sanjay, as her successor; he was, however, killed in an air crash in 1980.

Part of the Indian leadership is said to believe that it is time for youth to be brought into the higher levels of government; this would work in Rajiv's favor. Yet others will likely argue, as next year's expected time for election draws closer, that the difficulty of leading such a disparate nation demands greater experience than Rajiv, who until recently was a commercial airline pilot, has had.

Before the assassination, there were signs that India's smaller parties might form a coalition and mount a serious challenge to the Gandhi family leadership. Rajiv's political inexperience makes it difficult to gauge his own policy inclinations. The views of his advisers could be crucial. Yet there is the prospect that he could lead India in a more pro-Western direction.

Mrs. Gandhi's assassination compounds India's leadership challenge. People of goodwill everywhere will wish Rajiv Gandhi and the Indian nation well in this trying period.



Rajmohan Gandhi

Creating India

Rajmohan Gandhi, journalist grandson of Indian independence leader Mahatma Gandhi, here reflects on the death and the legacy of the Indian prime minister.

Almost my first thought on hearing that the bullets had done their deadly work was that Providence was a discriminator. The pope, President Reagan and, most recently, Prime Minister Thatcher had been spared, but Indira Gandhi was not. We do not know our destinies.

Indira the skinny child knew that the foreigner's raj had to be opposed and knew, too, that her father's absences were explained by the raj's wish to imprison him. But even after she became a young woman she could not have known that the raj would depart, her father would rule India for 17 years and she would do almost exactly the same.

Her political rivals did not know Indira Gandhi's destiny, either. She was named prime minister in 1966 because the bosses of her Congress Party needed a marionette for the 1967 elections. As Jawaharlal Nehru's daughter, she would pull crowds and votes; they would pull strings. One cartoon showed Indira as a girl in skirts in a jungle where fierce-looking tree-trunks bore the faces of the party chiefs; it was captioned "Babe in the Woods."

Before long the political innocent was breaking and remaking her party and dispatching the bosses to oblivion. At the end of 1971, she stood tall indeed. She had resoundingly won an election, helped liberate Bangladesh, defeated the Pakistanis and, at a moment when Indian troops held every advantage, declared a unilateral cease-fire.

How will she stand in history? No unprejudiced chronicler will fail to note her ability to make the tough choice, take the hard gamble and stand unmoved before a hostile crowd. Her charm and astonishing stamina, her 1977 smile at defeat and at the loneliness it brought, her 1980 comeback, her fortitude when she tragically lost a son, Sanjay—these, too, will be recorded. And her independence. She was no one's and no superpower's stooge.

These enviable and remarkable qualities will enter history, but in small print. For a headline she will need the title of India's unifier. It is clear that she would have prized the title, and there were moments when she gave the impression that she possessed it. But it is by no means clear that she earned it.

As 1972 began, her chances of making an India out of Indians seemed greater than those of almost anyone else. The religious minorities—Muslims, Sikhs and Christians—trusted her, as did the untouchables and the indigenous peoples. Believing in her slogan, the poor thought that she



would *garibi hatao* (remove poverty), and the rich backed her because she was the unchallenged ruler.

She did not succeed. She was prime minister for more than 16 years, but at the end Indians were not more unified than they had been before she became their leader. This year one could speak of galloping sectionalism and of wounding blows to "Indianness." Slogans of Sikh, Hindu, Muslim, untouchable or ethnic solidarity pierced the Indian air, but champions of Indian solidarity seemed hard to locate.

Indira Gandhi tried hard. She used the stick. She held long negotiations. To some of the groups tempted by separatism she offered carrots (though not in the last year of so). At times she seemed to show that the group she was talking to, and not her side, was responsible for failure to reach a settlement. But sectionalism did not end.

The reason it did not was, perhaps, peculiarly Indian. In 1975 a High Court found her guilty of corrupt electoral practices. She could resign or stay on, but it was obvious that staying on would also mean the use of harsh measures to restrain opponents who were demanding her resignation.

As we all know, she chose the latter course and had to impose an emergency so disliked that Indira Gandhi had to assure voters in the 1980 election that she could not conceive of an emergency again for another "hundred years."

What had gone wrong? It is not as if Indians have always disliked firmness in a leader. They love strong and martial heroes from India's past. In more recent times Mahatma Gandhi was not always easily budgeable, and neither, really, was Nehru, nor Vallabhbhai Patel, the person largely responsible for the integration into India of hun-

dreds of principalities when the British left.

Indians respect a wielder of power, which is why they allowed the British raj to flourish. Because they do, they hailed the 1972 Indira. At the same time, however, Indians disapprove of what they see as a desire for power. They want a ruler who can also be a renouncer.

When Indira Gandhi chose to stay in power and to amend laws to make her continuance easier, many Indians smelled "chair-hunger." Chair-hunger, alas, is disreputable in India. Thereafter, she could do nothing without being seen by influential Indians as a politician advancing her personal interests.

Sadly but inevitably, India was divided into pro-Indira and anti-Indira halves. And, for all her electoral success, when the unifier could be seen or projected by some as a divider, she lost that all-India good will that was essential to her task of persuading the sectionalists to put India first.

Of course, if Rajiv Gandhi shows that he is tough and flexible and yet not inseparable from the ruler's chair, he may yet have a part in helping to realize his mother's goal. It is a cruelly large task for one so sharply wounded in his depths.

Victor Zorza

'So Now You Are Crying'

DEHRA DUN, India, Oct. 31—A gang of toughs blocked the road in the foothills of the Himalayas just as the bus approached a hill village this afternoon. The men ordered the driver to empty the bus of passengers.

"Haven't you heard the news?" they shouted. "What news?" the driver asked. "Indira has been shot. All traffic must stop to mark the peoples' sorrow and shame." There were riots in the towns, the men said; it wasn't safe to go on. "Do you have any Sikhs inside?" a burly man asked, and climbed the rickety steps onto the bus to see for himself. There were none.

The young men who had stopped us were students from a nearby college, members of the youth wing of the Congress Party, out looking for trouble. The passengers filed out of the bus and joined the villagers who filled the roadside tea shop, a rough wooden shed. The villagers had surrounded a frightened, whimpering man.

"So now you are crying," said one. "The last time you were here, you said she was no good. Why are you weeping?"

"I am crying for her," he sobbed.

"You are crying because you are frightened."

An official appeared and tried to reason with the young men who had stopped the bus. It was true that the radio said Indira Gandhi had been shot, the official told them. But there was nothing to indicate that she was dead. He said he had just talked to a man who had arrived from the town for which the bus was headed. There were no riots there or anywhere else. The bus must proceed.

The students let us go, reluctantly. A hill

woman on the back seat began a loud lament: "What will we poor people do if she dies? She was our mother, sister, leader. The rich will pound us into pulp, squeeze us dry."

The wealthy farmer sitting next to me had gone to school in town and spoke English. He had been talking to me during the night and had declared himself a supporter of the Janata Party. Indira Gandhi was sure to be thrown out in the January election and good riddance, he had said. She had perverted the government, had appointed corrupt sycophants as ministers and was determined to perpetuate the family's dynastic rule. The state of emergency she had declared in the mid-'70s had been a dictatorship pure and simple. The compulsory sterilization of men had been an abomination which shamed India in the eyes of the whole world.

Now he spoke again. Of course it wasn't her fault. It was the overzealous officials' fault. She meant it for the best.

The bus was stopped three more times on the way to town, and the passengers were made to disembark on the outskirts. The streets were empty and silent. The shops were closed, their shutters down. In the town center, small hushed groups stood in the market square below the clock tower. I asked a man about the latest news. There was nothing more in the broadcasts from Delhi. (The shooting had taken place in the morning, and it was now 6 p.m.) The wildest rumors were flying around, he said. Then he whispered into my ear: "She's no more."

The writer, a syndicated columnist, lives in India.

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Indira Gandhi

A DEMOCRATIC country suffers an immense double blow—loss of the person, cancellation of the people's mandate—when its elected leader is removed by violence. So it is with the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India, four-time leader of the world's largest democracy and a commanding figure on the international scene.

The event, reminding us of all too many others, is horrible. The circumstances are an ironic tribute to the woman: she was gunned down by Sikhs she had kept in her security detail after last June's Sikh uprising as a sign that she wanted to get on with India's unending business of binding its disparate ethnic groups into one nation.

The daughter of post-independence India's first prime minister, Mrs. Gandhi was installed in the leadership in 1966 by Congress Party stalwarts who figured she would be easy to control. What a misjudgment. "Mrs. G" became master of the intricate balancing and patronage system of Indian politics. She also became hungry for power to the point that in 1975, after a court ordered her to resign (for illegal campaign practices), she invoked emergency powers and jailed thousands of rivals. But to the salvation of Indian democracy, she permitted a return to free elections and was bounced

out of office—though only for a few years.

Prime Minister Gandhi came to soften the brand of oppressive bureaucratic socialism she inherited from her father, Jawaharlal Nehru. Partly as a result, she saw India make impressive inroads on its backwardness, with the Green Revolution in agriculture and the consolidation of an urban industrial base. But further progress remains critical to alleviating misery and inequity and easing ethnic strains of the sort that produced her murder.

Mrs. Gandhi believed deeply in a strong India recognized as dominant in its region and as influential in the world. She used India's military power against Pakistan as the occasion arose, and augmented that power exponentially with the test of a nuclear bomb in 1974—an unwise decision that helped propel the Pakistanis into a countereffort. She put a pro-Soviet tinge on India's "nonalignment," too, accepting the Kremlin's invasion of Afghanistan as defensive. Still, her attachment to India's fellow democracy, the United States, was plain.

Within hours of Mrs. Gandhi's death, her son and intended political heir, Rajiv, 40, was named prime minister. Accepting the needs of this traumatic moment, he called for balance and calm. To ensure longer-term stability, however, it will be essential for India to hold to its planned elections next year.

For India, Huge Void

Ability of Son Seen as Major Question

The writer of this dispatch, William K. Stevens, has been The Times's New Delhi correspondent since 1982.

Special to The New York Times

NEW DELHI, Oct. 31 — So thoroughly had Prime Minister Indira Gandhi dominated Indian politics over the last two decades that even some of her critics said she was what held the fractious country together.

News Analysis

Many called her Madam, Madamji, Mrs. G., Indiraji, Amma (Mother) or just "She." Not everyone thought of her in kind terms, but all knew who "She" was,

The facts and figures: a graphic profile of India. Page A22.

and her assassination leaves an incalculable void in the life of the country. Her sudden disappearance from the public scene represents a considerable challenge to the future of the Indian experiment in democracy.

Hours after her death, her 40-year-old son, Rajiv Gandhi, was sworn in as her successor. It is his abilities and performance that are, perhaps, the biggest uncertainty for many people as the nation tries to adjust to the events of today.

Charan Singh, another former Prime Minister, who failed to hold an opposition Government together in 1979 and 1980, thereby paving the way for Mrs. Gandhi's return from three years out of power, expressed as much horror as anyone else when he heard the news of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination.

'Dynastic Rule' Feared

But when he heard about Rajiv Gandhi's rapid elevation, he said it confirmed his fear that "democracy is being gradually eroded in the country in order to establish a dynastic rule."

Whether that interpretation turns out to be correct, or whether Mr. Gandhi's swift installation as Prime Minister will exercise a stabilizing influence, is not clear.

What seems clearer is that Mr.

Continued From Page 1

Gandhi, because of his mother's death, appears at the moment to be in an almost invulnerable political position.

By law, parliamentary elections should be held by next Jan. 20, when the five-year life of the present Parliament expires. It was widely expected that Mrs. Gandhi would set the elections for late December or early January. It was also widely believed that her Congress-I Party would win enough seats to keep her in power, even if with a drastically reduced majority or at the head of a coalition government.

Authoritarian Rule Recalled

Whatever doubt there was stemmed largely from the negative baggage she had acquired during her years in power: for example, the suspicion after the 1975-77 period, when she declared a state of emergency and suspended civil rights, that she was authoritarian at heart; or her apparent acceptance of power politics, as in this year's bold attempts to topple duly elected state governments hostile to her party, or what was commonly perceived as a serious erosion of political institutions, for which she was largely blamed.

Rajiv Gandhi, though he has involved himself as leader of the Congress-I Party at the very lowest levels of power politics, comes to office essentially without such baggage. His image is still mostly that of Mr. Clean. More important to the relatively narrow consideration of getting elected, he now wears both the mantle of a martyr's son and that of the Nehru dynasty. There are some who think that if an election were called tomorrow, this combination would produce a Congress-I majority larger even than the two-thirds majority won under his mother's leadership five years ago.

It is not known, however, if and when elections will take place. Beyond that, it is an open question as to whether Mr. Gandhi has either the tough, pragmatic shrewdness of his mother or the idealistic depth of his grandfather, Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of independent India.

The combination of Nehru's idealism

Continued on Page A19, Column 3

and Mrs. Gandhi's adroit use of power on the international scene is credited by some students of Indian foreign policy with having placed this country among the world's most influential nations. During Mrs. Gandhi's tenure, for example, it has solidified its position as a leader of the third world and of the Commonwealth, and become the dominant power in South Asia.

Closer to home and to the moment, Mr. Gandhi must confront the possibility of communal rioting as Hindus attack Sikhs. In his first radio address to the nation tonight, he called for "maximum restraint" on the part of all Indians.

Moreover, he must now confront the intractable problem in Punjab. Some say they fear that Sikh terrorism might convert the wealthy but unhappy breadbasket state into a subcontinental Northern Ireland.

If Mrs. Gandhi's assassination is indeed the work of Sikh terrorists, as is commonly believed here today, the Punjab situation has been made just that much worse.

PHOTOS





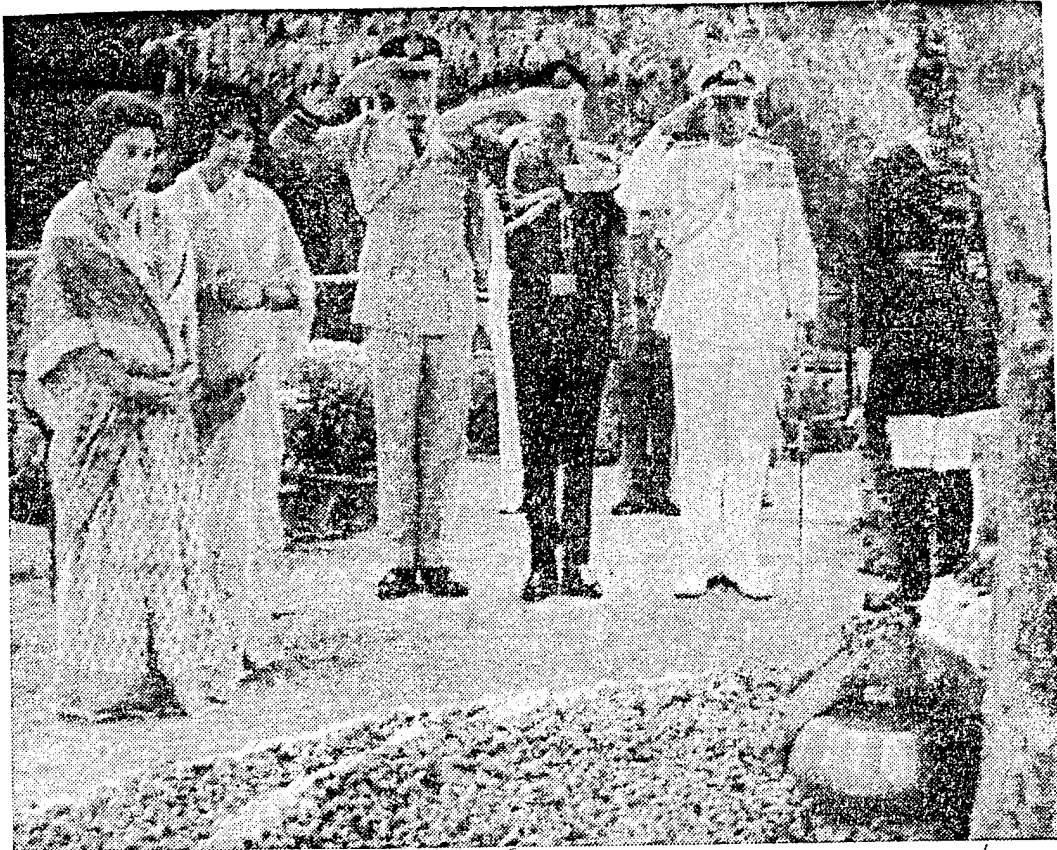
The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, consoling his son, Rahul, who burst into sobs after Mr Gandhi brought the urn containing the ashes of Indira Gandhi from Shantivana to Teen Murti House on Monday.



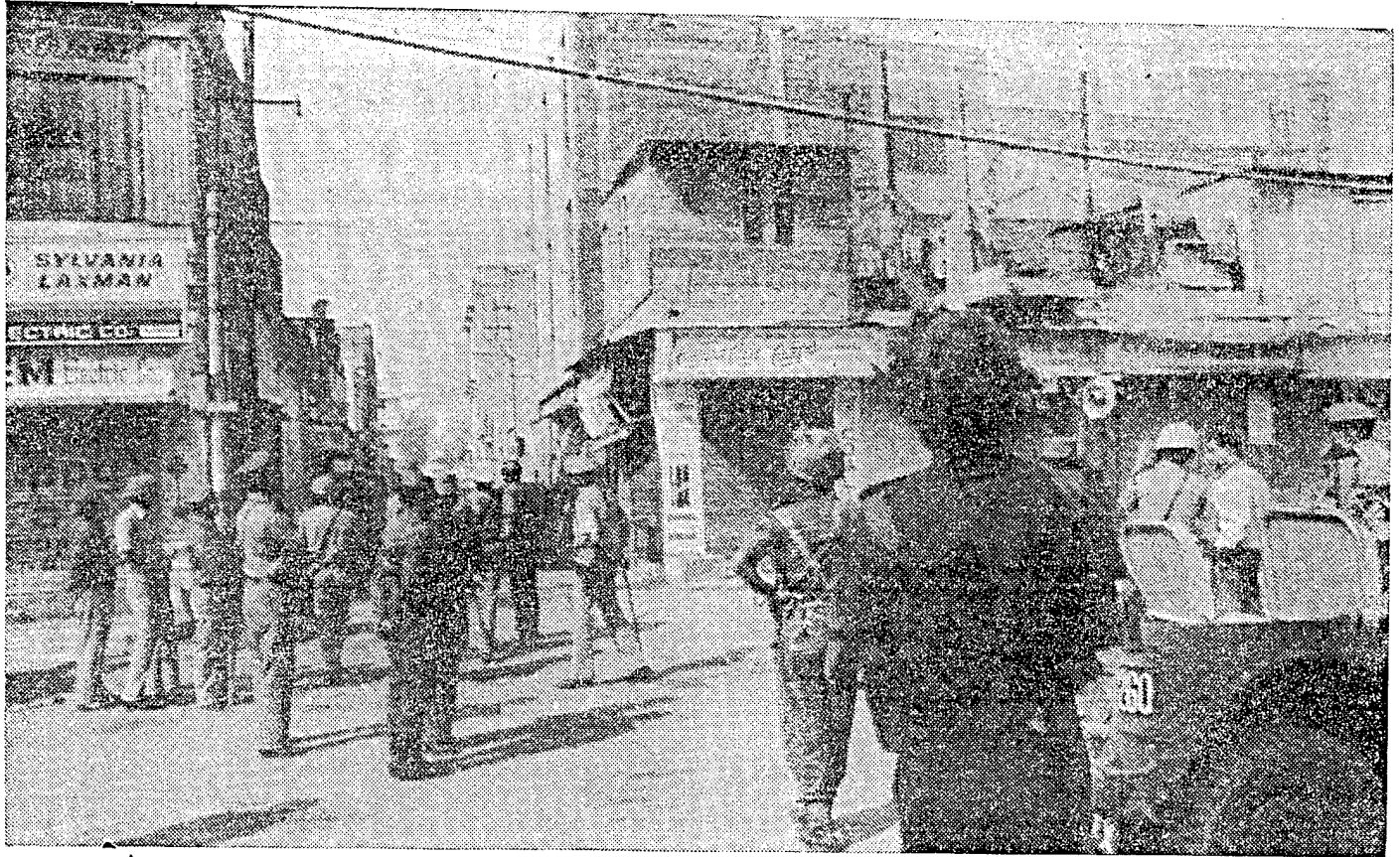
Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on the first day of his office at South Block on Monday — Patriot photo.



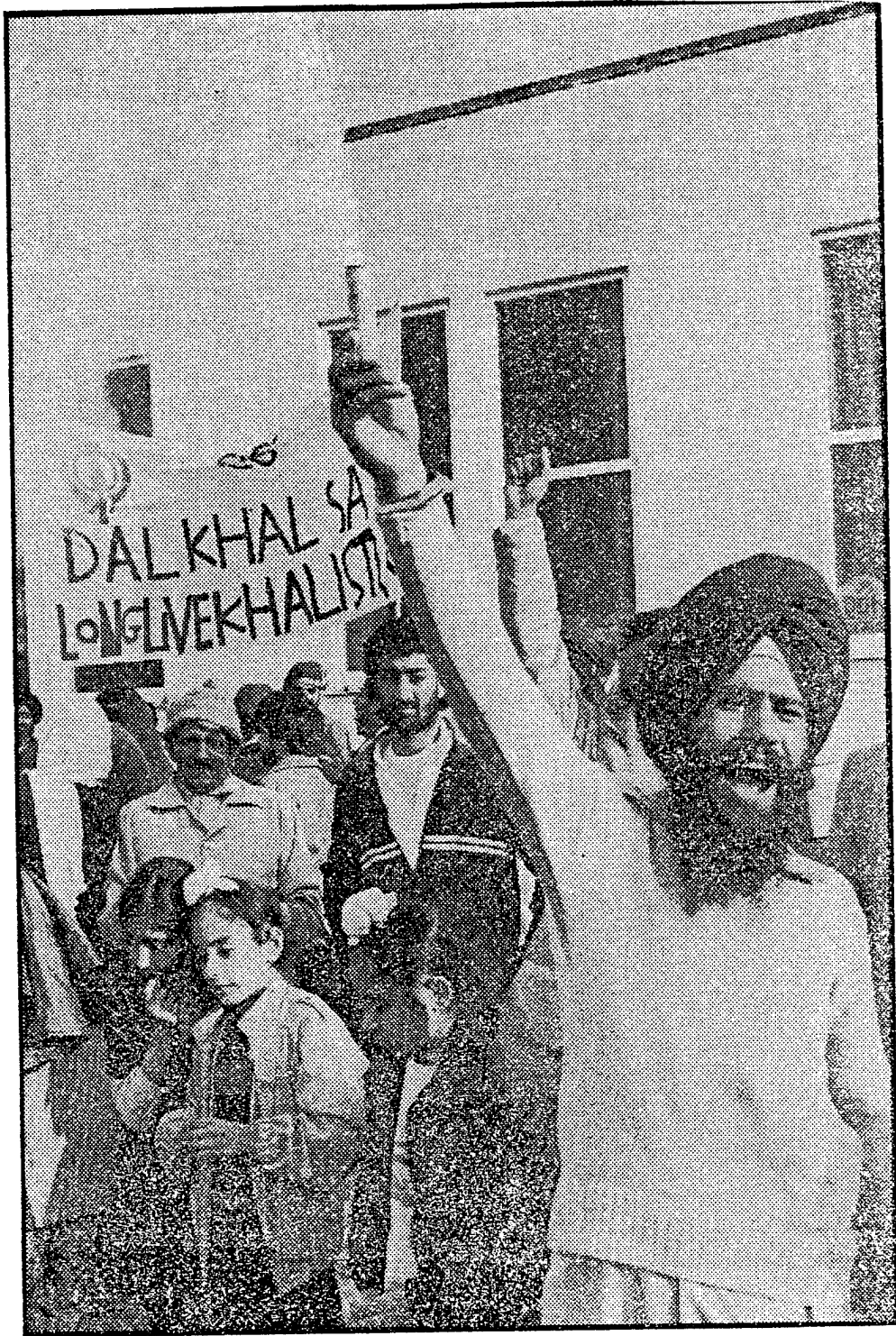
Special security personnel keeping a constant vigil on the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi.
A TELEGRAPH radiophoto by Sondeep Shankar



The three service chiefs (from left) Air Chief Marshal L. M. Katre, General A. S. Vaidya and Admiral O.S. Dawson pay homage to the urn containing Mrs. Indira Gandhi's ashes at Teen Murti House on Thursday. Mrs. Bhanu Vaidya (extreme left) and Mrs. Srilata Katre are also seen.



Army units were posted below a house in Paharganj, Delhi, after a shooting incident occurred on Tuesday.



Khalistan supporters celebrate in London



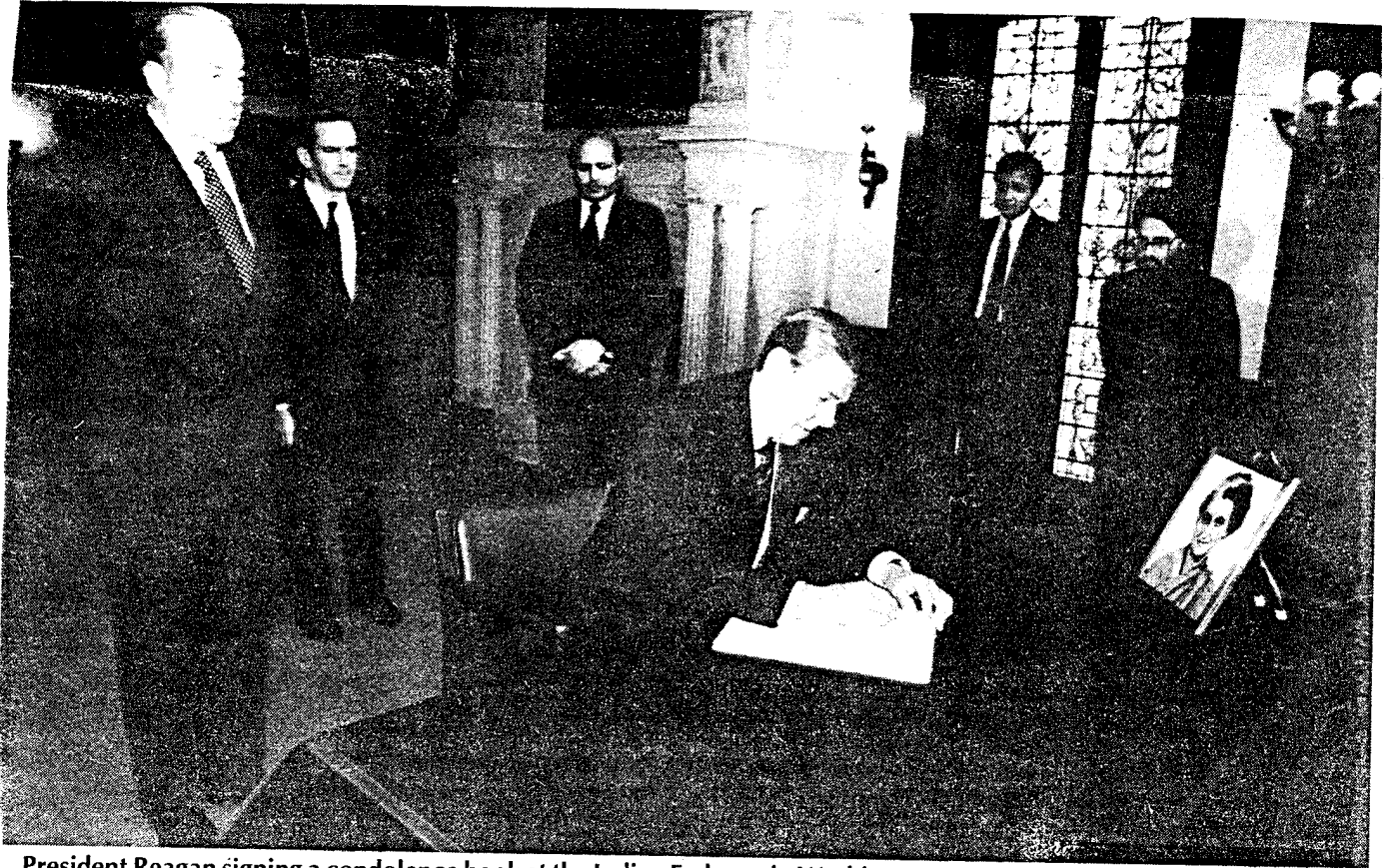
Relatives of Beant Singh, who shot dead Mrs. Gandhi, in his Maloya village in Chandigarh. — Express photo by Swadesh Talwar.



Beant Singh, one of the assassins of Mrs. Gandhi. — Express photo.



Soviet Prime Minister N A Tikhonov with US Secretary of State George P Shultz in New Delhi on Saturday.



President Reagan signing a condolence book at the Indian Embassy in Washington on Oct. 31. Behind the President are Mr. George Shultz, Secretary of State, Mr. Robert McFarlane, National Security Advisor, and Mr. K. S. Bajpai, the Ambassador of India.



The U. S. President, Mr. Ronald Reagan, taking time off his busy election schedule, visited the Indian Embassy in Washington soon after the news of Indira Gandhi's death was announced. He is seen coming out of the Embassy after signing the condolence book. The Ambassador, Mr. K. S. Bajpai, is to his right.



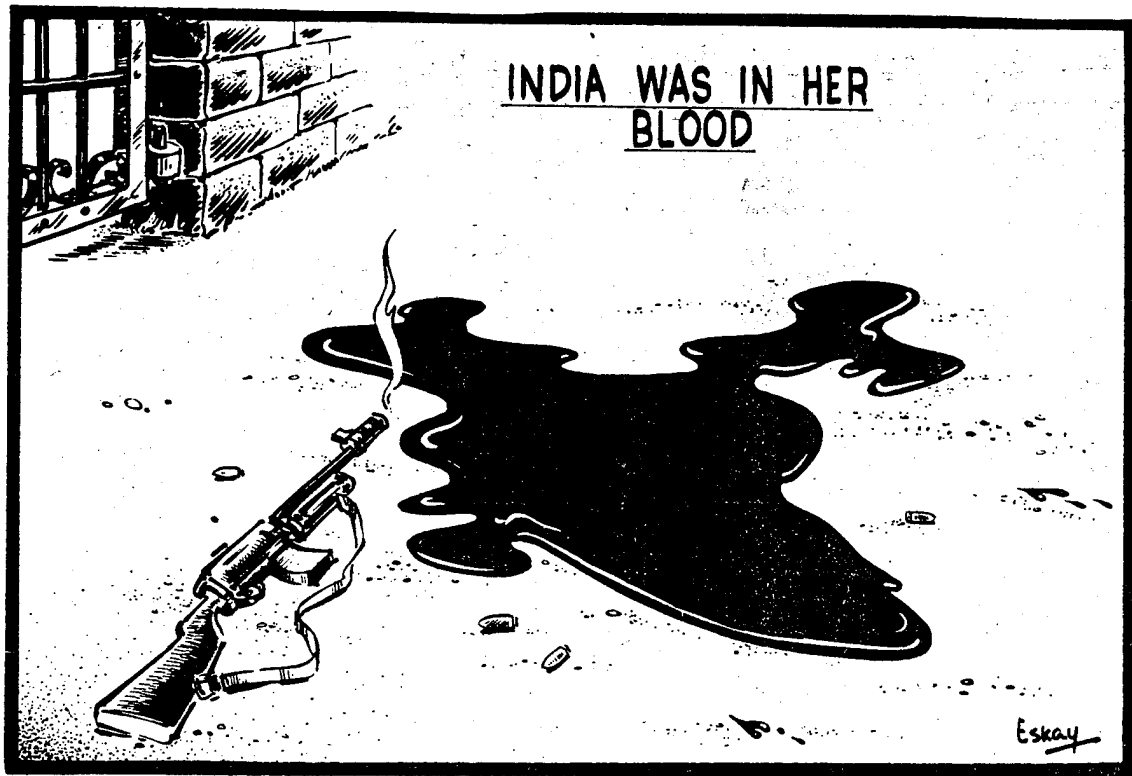
Gen. Zia takes a measure of the new Prime Minister

CARTOONS

THE ENDLESS ROLL



Washington Post, 1 November 1984



Blitz, 10 November 1984



"Out, out brief candle .. "

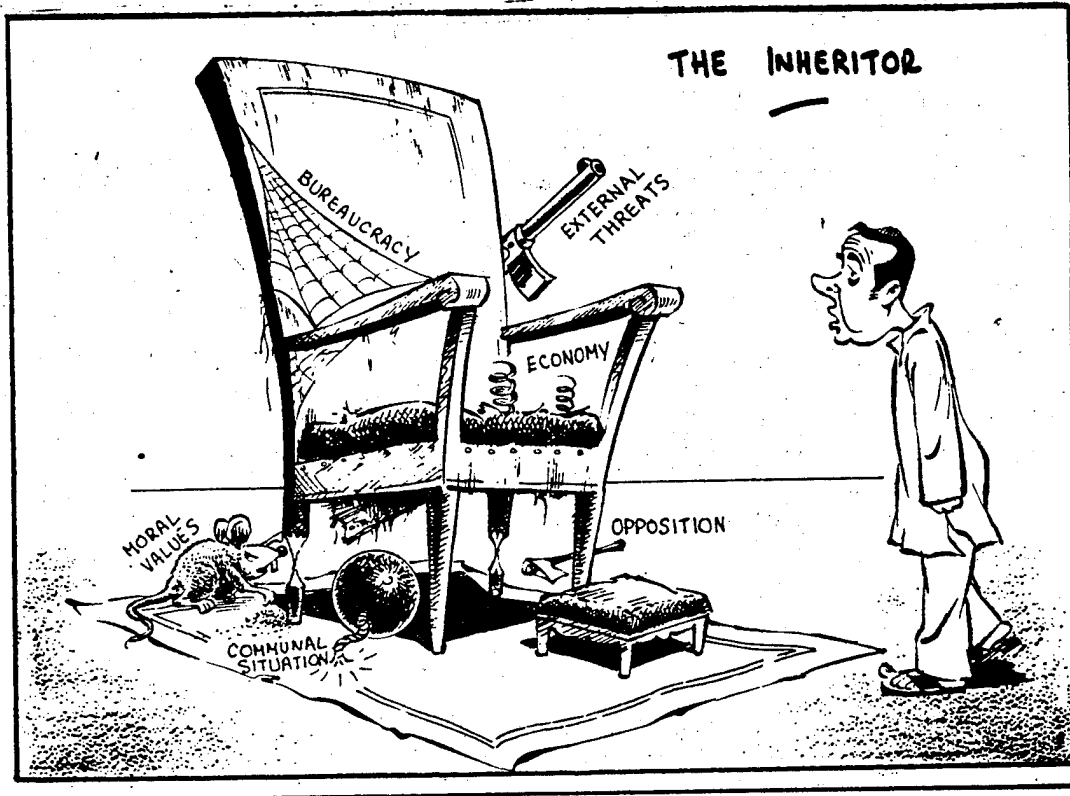
Express Magazine, 18 November 1984



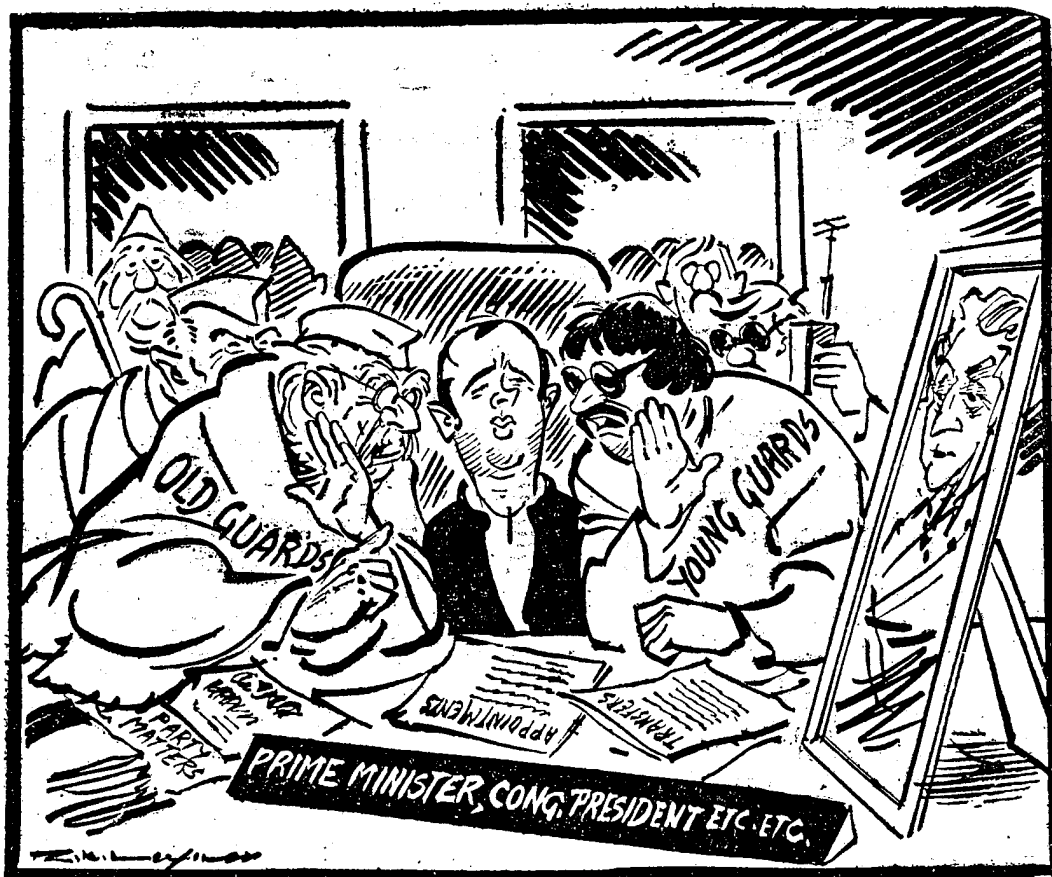
Illustrations by ESKAY

Rajiv Gandhi: in the saddle

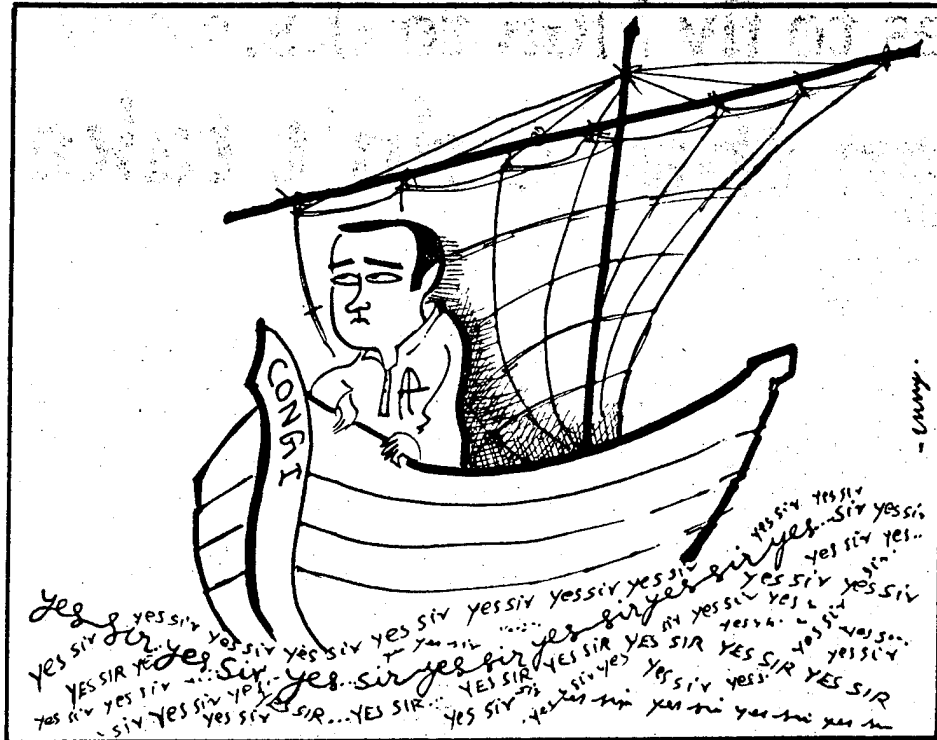
Express Magazine, 18 November 1984



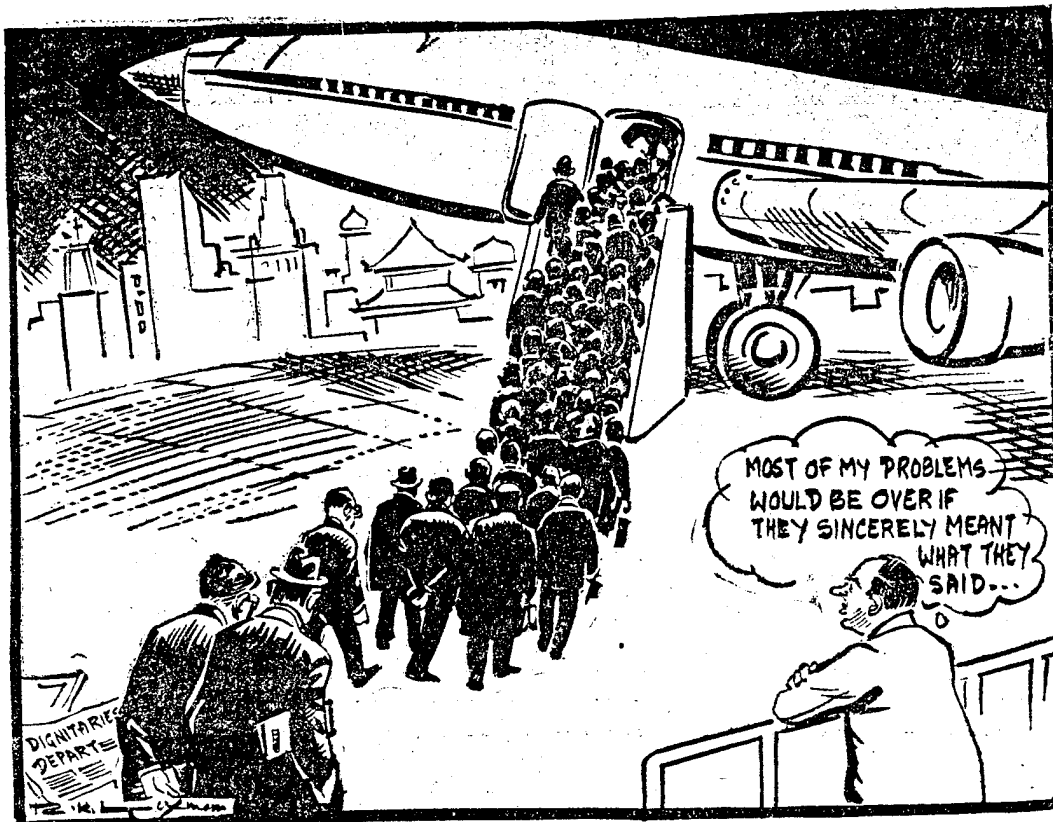
Express Magazine, 11 November 1984, p. 2



Times of India, Bombay, 13 November 1984, p. 7



The Hindu, 6 November 1984



Times of India, 6 November 1984